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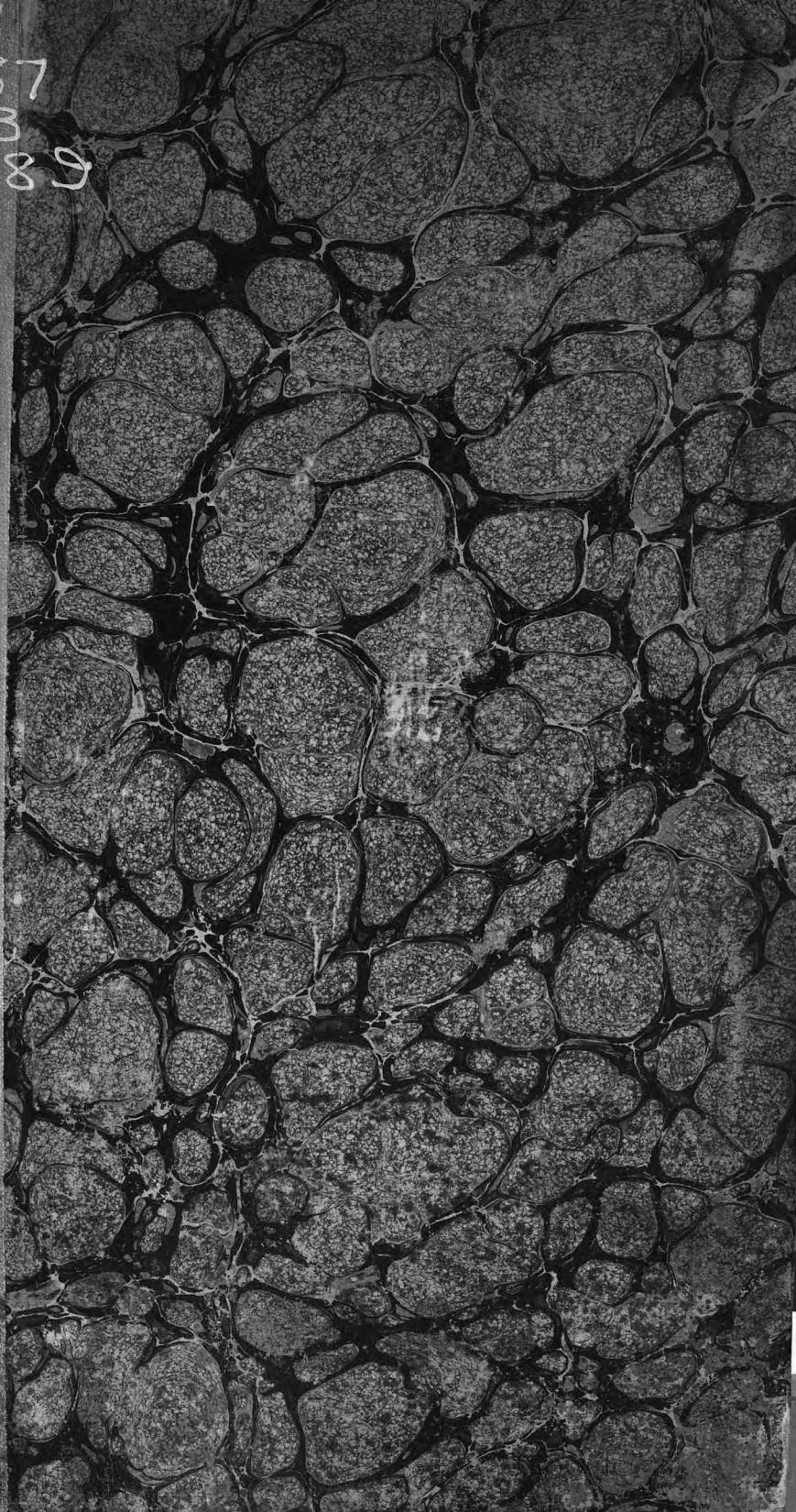
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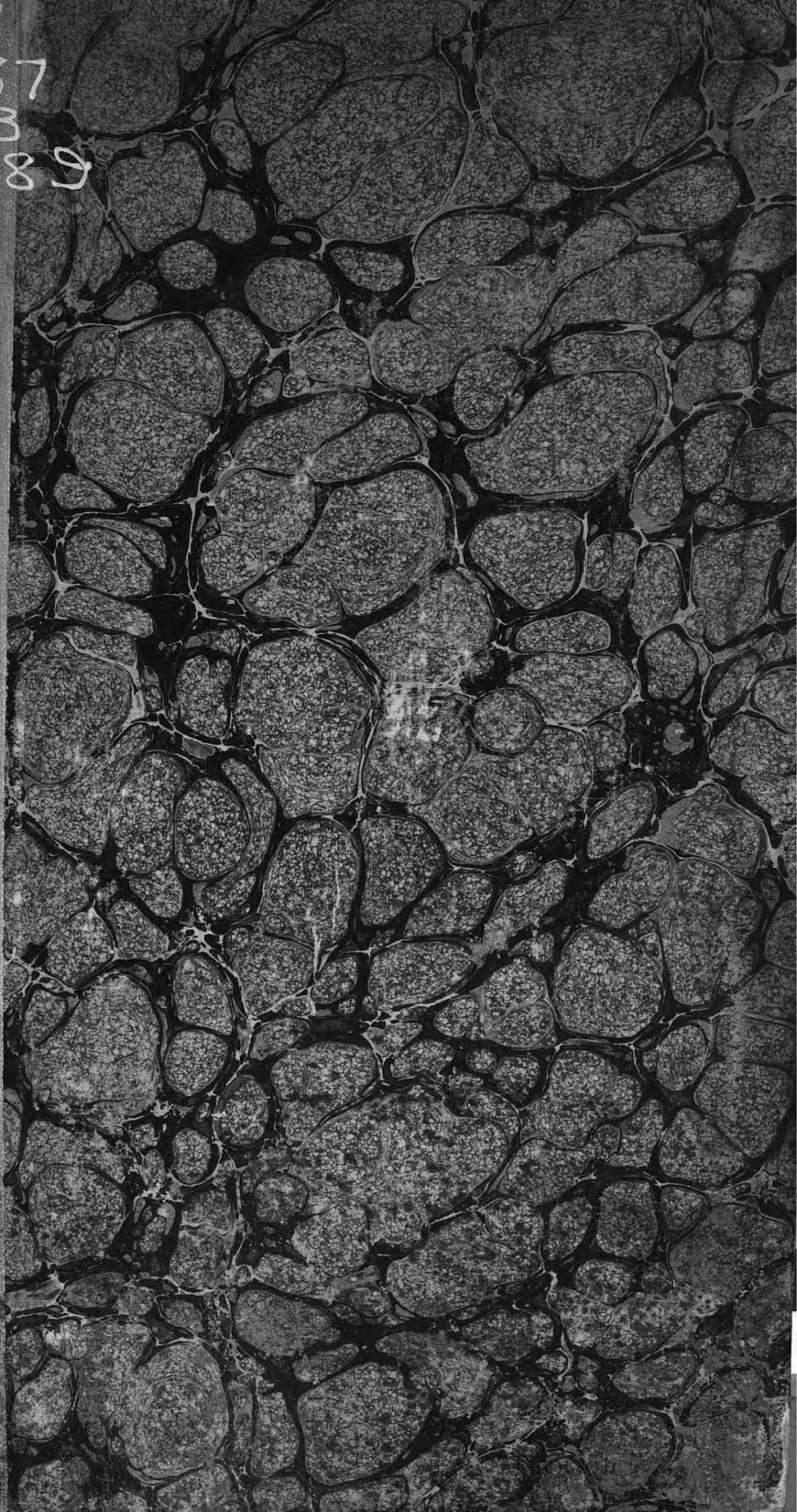
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By GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

Teachers College, Columbia University

BALTIMORE

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The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory:

its later literary history.

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN PART FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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PREFACE.

In the following pages the purpose has been to present, first, a general statement of the later history of the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory; and, second, to give a typical example of the later forms of the legend in the Vision of William Staunton, here edited for the first time from the two manuscripts of the Vision in the British Museum. The historical statement has been limited chiefly to the literature of Spain, France, and England; for, though there is probably not a tongue of Western Europe in which the story of the Purgatory does not appear in one form or another, in the three countries mentioned it seemed to find specially favorable soil for its growth.

The following considerations have seemed to the writer to justify the undertaking of the present study: (1) the general interest of the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory to all students of vision-literature and to special students of Dante and Milton; (2) the importance of the legend as an example of mediæval ecclesiastical legend that has lived on into modern times in the traditions and literature of the people; (3) its value as an expression of the changes of popular opinion in questions of theology and morality. To the above considerations may be added the fact that little has yet been done towards ordering the large body of material centering about the Middle-English visions.

Several meritorious contributions on the general subject of mediæval visions¹ and special studies of the early forms of the

¹ A consideration of the literary borrowings from the Purgatory legend, and of its relationships in the general field of vision literature, is beyond the province of the present study. The second subject has been fully considered by E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with Special reference to the Middle English Versions*, Baltimore, 1899, p. 87 ff. For a summary of the literature on the question of Dante's dependence on mediæval vision literature, cf. Becker, p. 5 ff., to which list add, Frederick

legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory have been of help in the preparation of the present study.¹ The first and best word on the special subject was said by Wright in a little volume published in 1844. In this essay Wright takes up the general subject of visions of Heaven and Hell in the Middle Ages, but treats the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory, beginning at the earliest forms he knew of it, with special fulness. Wright's essay still remains a very important contribution to the study of the subject, although, by the possession of books and texts which were unknown to him, we are now able to amplify his account and to correct some inaccuracies in his statements.

A second important study is that of Dr. Selmar Eckleben, *Die älteste Schilderung vom Fegefeuer des h. Patricius*, Halle, 1885. The author in this work endeavors to explain the origin of the story and to arrive at its earliest literary form. The attempt is only partially convincing. The author's final conclusion is that the legend in its origin was a mere monkish fabrication for mercenary purpose (p. 60). One would rather believe, however—and there are many circumstances favoring such a belief—that the legend originally had a basis in popular feeling and tradition, that the earliest literary forms were the result rather than the cause of its popularity. Such is Wright's opinion, who declares (p. 60) that the story is perfectly consistent with the popular belief at the time of its origin.

But in order to reach the earliest forms of the story, one must go back even further than Eckleben or Wright have gone. The legend is not only consistent with the popular belief of the twelfth century; it has a basis in much earlier popular tradition, and in the treatment of its ultimate source, it must be brought into connection with the well-known Celtic doctrine of rebirth and of the Happy Otherworld. An important point in the line of this development is the story, which is preserved in the *Tripartite Life*, of St. Patrick on Cruachan Aigle. In this connection it is also important to note that even in very early times, visions of the

Vinton, *St. Patrick's Purgatory and the Inferno of Dante*, 1873, Bib. Sacra, Vol. xxx, p. 275 ff.

¹ Wright, Thomas, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844. Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* 1, 57–121. Mall. *Ed. Rom. Forsch.* vi, 139 ff. Ward, *Catalog. of Rom.* II, 435–492.

otherworld were definitely connected with fixed places, and that the idea of purgation was not entirely absent from the early Celtic conception of the otherworld.¹

The works cited are the only ones of importance that have appeared on the subject; the later history of the legend, as has been stated, aside from what Wright has done, has remained practically untouched until the present. Perhaps the later forms of the legend must yield in point of interest to the earlier forms. The story lent itself too readily to practical application to retain its early purity very long, and there can be no doubt that it became a part of the machinery by which the monks at Lough Derg kept up both their reputation for piety and the revenues of their monastery. The old idealism of the story had surely and forever departed before the time of the Reformation; and after the Reformation, the tradition and the place it celebrated naturally fell all the more rapidly from dignity. Thousands of fanatical pilgrims continued to visit the place every summer, paying their slender tribute of silver for the privilege of spending the night on the holy island; but public opinion having expressed the strongest disapproval of the superstitious practices of the place, repeated intervention of the government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries put at least a nominal end to this old-time religious ceremony.

The reason for this steady deterioration in the character of the legend is not far to seek. Generally, in the transmission of saints' lives and acts, a certain form gains favor, is recorded, and ever after remains substantially the same. In this story, however, free rein was given to the imagination of individual narrators. Since the visions were seen in person and everyone was free to go to see them, naturally the account given of the Purgatory varied with the tastes and capabilities of different visitors. It is often hard indeed to recognize the latest accounts as lineal descendants of the old stock. A significant result of this degeneration in the character of the legend is to be noted in

¹ Cf. Alfred Nutt's essay "*Upon the Irish vision of the Happy Otherworld and the Celtic doctrine of rebirth*" in Meyer and Nutt's *The Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895. Also Rev. Celt. xv, 469, *Edinburgh Dinnsheanas* No. 67; and *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ed. Stokes, London, 1887, Vol. I, p. 113 ff.

the fact that the story is no longer a favorite one in the church, and is no longer inserted in collections of saints' lives and legends.¹

The Vision of William Staunton, an inedited text of which is herewith presented, is a form of the legend in the day of its greatest popular favor, the beginning of the fifteenth century. It differs greatly from the early forms of the story; yet it maintains the old satirical and moral purpose, and beneath its apparent inventions will often be found the old story as it was modified by successive generations of narrators.²

New York, 1899.

¹The legend of the Purgatory is not given in the life of St. Patrick by Butler or by Baring-Gould. Cf. also the following recent works on purgatory which all omit to mention the legend: F. X. Schouppe, *The Dogma of Purgatory, Illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the Saints*, London, 1893; Henry James Coleridge, S. J., *The Prisoners of the King*, London, 1889; Mgr. O'Reilly, *Where do our Departed Go?* New York, 1894. The mystical explanation of the doctrine of purgatory appears to find most favor at present; cf. *Treatise on Purgatory by St. Catherine of Genoa*, Trans. from the original Italian. With a Preface by His Em. Card. Manning, London; *Souls Departed*, by Cardinal Allen. Ed. by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, London, 1886.

²The only version of the story in Modern English literature is that by Southey in his ballad, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Poetical Works, London, 1838, Vol. VI, pp. 40-8. The source was an abridged extract from Marie de France. In the *Commonplace Book*, 4th Series, p. 124, there is also a transcript of Matthew Paris' Latin account. *The Legends of St. Patrick*, by Aubrey De Vere, LL. D., do not tell the story of the Purgatory; the legends related are all very early ones. The story of Cruachan Aisle is given. Shirley (*Dramatic Works*, ed. Gifford and Dyce, London, 1833, Vol. IV, 363-443) has a play entitled, *St. Patrick for Ireland*. In the prologue and epilogue the author promises a second part; but only the first part is known to have been written. The play tells of the early life of St. Patrick, of his mission to Ireland, and closes with the pretended conversion of the king of Ireland, leaving the way open for further action. Magic plays a great part in the drama; and though there is no direct mention of the Purgatory, I am inclined to think that it was to have been the subject of the second part.

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SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

CHAPTER I.

AN INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER ON THE EARLY DIFFUSION OF THE LEGEND.

As preliminary to the consideration of the later forms of the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory, it has seemed advisable to review briefly the possible sources of these later accounts in earlier Latin, French, and English manuscript literature. The legend first took form in a Latin prose work of the end of the twelfth century, written by H[enry], a monk of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire. Henry of Saltrey's production, generally called *Tractatus de Purgatorio* from the title given to it by Messingham (cf. below, p. 3), enjoyed great popularity from the start. The number of Latin transcripts and versions of it is very large. The British Museum possesses fourteen different versions in Latin prose, which date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century; all of these are described by Ward, in his *Catalogue of Romances*.¹ I have examined the MSS. at Oxford, and find two complete versions of the story, with three others which are imperfect or abridged.² At Cambridge there are two MSS.; one is

¹ Vol. II, pp. 435 ff; p. 748. The fifteen Latin MSS. of the British Museum Ward divides into two classes. The MSS. of his first class are: Royal 13 B. VIII, Cott. Nero A. VII, Roy. 8 C. XIV, Harl. 261, Harl. 3776, Harl. 103, Roy. 9 A. XIV, Cott. Vesp. A. VI, Harl. 2851, Egerton 1117. Of the second class are: Arundel 292, Cott. Tib. E. 1, Harl. 3846. The two of indeterminate class are: Addit. 33, 957, Harl. 912.

² The Oxford MSS. have not before been noticed. The two complete MSS. are Digby 34 and Digby 172 of the Bodley Library. I have applied Ward's test passages to the MSS. and find they are both of the first class. The class of the other MSS. cannot be determined; the first two are imperfect copies, and the last is very much abridged; they are: Rawl. C. 97, Rawl. B. 496, Ashmol. 1289, all of the Bodley Library.

described by Dimock,¹ and the other is cited by James.² One continental ms. is described and printed by Ed. Mall.³ These mss., doubtless but a few of the Latin mss. of the legend that might be found in the libraries of Europe, serve to indicate the early popularity of the story. There is no critical edition of the Latin text of the story.

There are numerous early forms of the story in Latin, derived generally from one or more of the ms. versions directly and inserted into various works which did much to spread the early fame of the legend. The story was put into his *Flowers of History* by Roger of Wendover⁴ under the year 1153, the supposed date of the occurrences of the story. It is supposed by Luard, editor of Matthew Paris in the Rolls Series, that Roger brought his chronicles down to the year 1188 from the chronicle of John, Abbot of St. Alban's from 1195-1214, a chronicle which now exists only in the form of its continuations. If Roger derived his entry for the year 1153 from the chronicle of John, it must have been but a few years after the composition of the *Tractatus* that it found its way into the Abbot of St. Alban's collections. Matthew Paris,⁵ the continuator of Roger of Wendover, gives Roger's version of the *Tractatus*, word for word, and under the same year.

Ralph Higden, in his *Polychronicon*,⁶ tells the story of the Purgatory, but his account is an abbreviated one. John Brompton (fl. c. 1436) in his *Chronicon*⁷ borrows the account given by Ralph Higden, word for word. Some recent writers (cf. Jenkins, *L'Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France*, p. 13; Jenkins bases

¹ *Giraldi Cambrensi Opera*, ed. James F. Dimock, London, 1867, vol. v, pp. xxii, xxiv. The ms. is, says Dimock, "made directly and by a most faithful scribe from the earlier ms., Roy. 13 B. viii," and consequently is of Ward's first class. Its mark is: Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 27.

² *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge*, by Montague Rhodes James, Cambridge, 1895, p. 35. The title of the ms. is: S. S. Col. Camb. 50. A. 3. 5. It has nowhere been described.

³ Ed. Mall, *Zur Geschichte der Leg. vom Purg. des h. Patricius, Rom. Forschungen*, vi, pp. 139 ff.

⁴ Eng. Hist. Society, London, 1841, vol. ii, p. 256 ff. Also: Bohn's *Antiq. Library*, vol. i, p. 510.

⁵ *Chronica Majora*, Rolls edition, 1874, vol. ii, pp. 192-203.

⁶ Rolls edition, London, 1865, vol. i, p. 370 ff.

⁷ Ed. Twysden, London, 1652, col. 1076-77.

his statement on that of Eckleben, pp. 28, 48) on the early forms of the legend, erroneously supposing that Brompton's *Chronicon* was written in 1198, the year in which it ends, were thus misled into maintaining that his version of the story was the first literary use made of the *Tractatus* after its composition. As I have indicated above, the first literary use of the *Tractatus* was probably either by John, Abbot of St. Alban's, or Roger of Wendover.

Abbreviated forms of the legend and descriptions of the place of the story are given by other early writers whose works were widely read and copied. Jacobus a Voragine introduced it into his *Legenda Aurea*¹ in an abbreviated form, and Petrus de Natalibus into his *Catalogus Sanctorum*.² Vincent of Beauvais tells of the Purgatory in his *Bibliotheca Mundi, Speculum Historiale*; ³ Caesarius of Heisterbach, in his *Dialogus Miraculorum*; ⁴ Jacques de Vitry, in his *Historiae Orientalis*.⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Topographia Hibernica*,⁶ gives one of the earliest descriptions of the place of the Purgatory.

Of versions, of a somewhat later period, but closely dependent on the early Latin versions, the *Tractatus* of Thomas Messingham⁷ and the *Trias Thaumaturga* by John Colgan,⁸ both derived from the early Latin MSS., are a frequent source for many later adaptations

¹ *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta.* Rec. Dr. Th. Graesse. Edit. Sec. Lipsiae, MDCCCL. Cap. L. (49), p. 213.

² *Catalogus Sanctorum et Gestorum Eorum.* Ex Diversis Voluminibus Collectus, Editus A Reverendissimo In Christo Patre Domino Petro de Natalibus de Venerabilis Dei Gratia Episcopo Eque Vilino. [Printed at Venice, 1493]. Lib. III, Cap. CCIII.

³ *Bibliotheca Mundi, Tomus Quartus, qui Speculum Historiale Inscribitur.* Duaci MDCCXIV. Lib. XX, Cap. XXIII, XXIV.

⁴ *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum.* Accurate recognovit Josephus Strange. Coloniae, Bonnae et Bruxellis. MDCCCL. Distinctio Duodecima, Cap. XXXVIII, p. 347.

⁵ *Jacobi de Vitriaco, Libri duo. Quorum prior Orientalis; alter Occidentalis Historiae nomine inscribitur.* Duaci Anno 1597. *Orientalis*, cap. 92, p. 216-7.

⁶ Rolls ed., p. 82-3.

⁷ In *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, Paris, 1624, cap. III-x. Reprinted in Migne, *Patrologia*, 1885, vol. CLXXX, col. 975-1004. There is a Welsh translation of the *Tractatus*, with English translation of the Welsh, entitled *Purdan Padric*, printed by Robt. Williams and G. H. Jones, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, London, 1892. Vol. II, pp. 189-211; 566-581.

⁸ Pp. 273-80. Reprinted by Mall, as above.

of the legend. The two works of Philip O'Sullivan, however, perhaps did more to keep alive and increase the popularity of the legend than any other adaptations of the early accounts. In his *Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernici Compendium*¹ he gives in full one of the descriptions of visits to the Purgatory (cf. below, p. 25); and in his curiously recondite and interesting work, *Decas Patritiana*, which was published at Madrid, during his exile from Ireland, O'Sullivan discusses the question of purgatory, and of this purgatory in particular, from the beginning. This volume is made up of ten books, of ten chapters each, whence its title. Each book treats of one theme in connection with the life of St. Patrick; the ninth book, one of the longest, treats of purgatory. The first eight chapters of the book are given up to a consideration of various questions relating to purgatory; and in the ninth chapter of the book, the existence of purgatory is proved by the witness of those who, while yet alive, have visited purgatory, and have returned thence to the earth. This chapter treats chiefly of St. Patrick's Purgatory. The author gives complete accounts of the descent of three persons into the Purgatory—Nicolaus, Egnus, and Raymond. The last chapter treats of general questions concerning purgatory.

Such are a few of the chief Latin works that contributed to the fame of the legend of the Purgatory. Many other Latin authors, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, who have touched on the Purgatory might be adduced; but those cited represent the constantly recurring forms of the story which served as a source for all the rest.

The popularity of the legend in early French literature is also attested by a large number of translations and adaptations. Seven different versions in verse are known; the references to these have been collected and published by Paul Meyer.² The MSS. of the

¹ Ed. Matthæus Kelly, Dublin, 1850. Tom. I, Lib. II, Cap. I-III.

² *D. Philippi Oullevani Bearri Ibernici Patritiana Decas*. Anno 1629. Matriti. Lib. IX, Cap. I-X.

³ *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Tome Trente-Quatrième. Paris, MDCCCXCI. *Notices sur quelques manuscrits français de la bibliothèque Phillips à Cheltenham*, par M. Paul Meyer, pp. 149-258. The seven metrical versions are represented by nine MSS. as follows: I. Bib. Nat. fr., Fds. fr. 25, 407, by Marie de France; II. B. M. Cott. Dom. A. iv; III. B. M. Harl. 273; Bib. Nat. fr. 2198; IV. Lib. Univ. of Cambridge E. e. 6. 11; V. B. M.

prose translation are as numerous as those of the metrical ones. The Bib. Nat. fr. has eight mss., the Brit. Mus. has two and the library at Arras, two. References to these mss. are also published by Paul Meyer.¹ There is one more ms. in the town library at Rheims, which has been printed.² In general the French versions are very close adaptations or translations of the Latin original.³

The legend was first done into English at the end of the thirteenth century. This version was one of the many lives of the saints thus versified at that time and made one of a collection of saints' lives and other matter suited for the various festivals of the year, known now as the *Early South English Legendary*. This great collection was very often copied, and many forms of it are preserved in various mss. In general each copy of the *Legendary* contains the story of the Purgatory.⁴ Four copies of this form of the legend have been printed.⁵ Besides this version there are two

Lansdowne 383; VI. Bib. Nat. fr. 1526, by Geofroi de Paris; VII. Philipps Lib. at Chelt. 4156; Tours City Lib. 948, by Berol.

The version by Marie de France has been published with a preliminary study on the legend in literature: *L'Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France*, by Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, Philadelphia, 1894.

¹ Paul Meyer, *Notice sur le MS. 307 (anc. 851) de la bibl. d'Arras, Romania*, xvii, p. 382. The prose mss. are as follows: Bib. nat. fr. 411; 412; 834; 957; 1544; 13, 496; 19, 531; 25, 532; B. M. Roy. 20 D. vi; Add. 6524; Lib. at Arras 657 (form. 139); 307 (form. 851).

² *Li Purgatoire di Saint Patrice*, *Legende du XIII^e siècle*, Publiée d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Reims. Société des Bibliophiles de Reims. MDCCCXLII [ed. Prosper Tarbé].

The edition is valueless. It is carelessly printed, and the editor is quite unacquainted with the history of the legend. He does not know H. of Saltrey or any Latin original of his ms.; the name of the knight he gives *Oieus*, and supposes it to be for *Ojeus* = Ogier, p. 9; *Estevenon* he takes to mean *Suénon*, p. 53; the author of the account he takes to be *Jocelyn*, p. 54.

³ I have not had the opportunity to examine all the French mss.; but the two B. M. mss. and the one used by Tarbé are the translation, so-called, of the *Legenda Aurea* by Jean Belet. The translation is not, however, derived from Jacobus, but from a slightly abridged ms. of Ward's second class. For the best discussion of the question of Jean Belet's connection with the *Legenda Aurea*, cf. *Legenda Aurea—Légende Dorée—Golden Legend*, by Pierce Butler, Baltimore, 1899, p. 20 ff.

⁴ Körting, *Grundriss der englischen Litteratur*, pp. 128–9, gives a full list of the mss.

⁵ I. *Bodley Laud* 108; printed by Horstmann, *All. Eng. Legenden*, Paderborn, 1875, p. 177 and alternate pp. following. Also by Horstmann, *Early South English Legendary*, E. E. T. S. No. 87, London, 1887, pp. 199–220; II. *B. M. Egerton* 1993, by Horstmann, *All. Eng. Leg.*, as above, p. 175 and alternate pp. following; III.

other early versions in English. The first is represented by two MSS.; this version is in octosyllabic couplets.¹ The second, in stanzaic form, is the Auchinleck version and is represented by a single MS.² The English versions, also, with but slight variations, adhere to the original Latin accounts.

For convenience in the comparison of the later versions with the earlier, it may be convenient at this point to give an outline of the contents of a typical Latin MS. I have chosen for the purpose the B. M. MS. Roy. 13 B. VIII, which is one of the fullest and completest of the early accounts. The work consists of a *Praefatio*, the narration proper, and a short epilogue.

F.100 b. col.2. *Praefatio*: H., a monk of Saltrey, sends to H., abbot of Sartis, the tale of Purgatory that he had mentioned in H. of Sartis' presence. He refers to the dialogues of Gregory, tells how souls have returned to the bodies of the dead and related their experiences; he speaks then of the position of Hell and of the Earthly Paradise, and declares that in this narrative he will tell of visions seen and experienced by one in bodily form: *quasi in specie et forma corporali*.

F.101 b. col.1. *Incipit de purgatorio sancti patricij*: Patrick, the second of that name, came to preach in Ireland and strove to convert the 'bestiales animos' of the Irish by painting the terrors of Hell and the joys of Paradise to them. As an indication of their savage state the writer tells that once when he was in Ireland, a man old and white-haired, came to him just before Easter to confess for the first time in his life. The confession had to be made through an interpreter. The writer asked the Irishman if he had ever killed a man; the Irishman answered, not more than five outright but he did not know how many might have died afterwards of their wounds; that it was the custom of his country to kill men. '*Heo ideo proposui, ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem.*'

Bodley Ashmol. 43, by Horstmann, *All. Eng. Leg.* as above, p. 150 ff.; IV. *B. M. Cott. Jul. D.* ix, variant readings from this MS. given by Horstmann, in connection with *Ashmol.* 43, as above.

¹ I. *B. M. Cott. Calig. A.* ii, printed by Kölbing, *Eng. Studien*, vol. i, pp. 113-21, Breslau, 1876; II. Brome MS., at Brome Hall in Suffolk, printed by L. T. Smith, *Eng. Studien*, vol. ix, pp. 3-12, Breslau, 1886. Also, *A Commonplace Book of the 15th Century*, Norwich and London, 1886, pp. 82-106.

² *Owain Miles and other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry*, Edinburgh, MDCCCXXXVII [ed. by David Laing, W. B. D. D. Turnbull and others], pp. 13-54.

F.101 b. col.2. After Patrick had preached a long time to the people, they said they would not believe his words unless they might look with their eyes upon the torments of Hell and the joys of Paradise. After he had prayed long and fasted, the Lord himself appeared to Patrick, gave him a book and a staff (*baculus ihesus*) and leading him into the wilderness, he showed to him a round hole where penitents might see the secrets of the other world. Patrick built there a church, and placed in it monks of the Augustinian order; he had doors placed at the entrance to the Purgatory, the keys of which were kept by the prior of the church. Many entered the Purgatory in Patrick's lifetime; on their return, their experiences were written down and preserved at the church, which was called '*reglis*.'

F.102 a. col.1. After the death of Patrick there was one of the priors of the church '*reglis*' who lived entirely on bread and salt and water until he grew so old that he had but one tooth left in his mouth. His fellows used to hear angels singing at night about his cell, and this was their song: *Beatus es tu, et beatus est dens qui est in ore tuo, quem nunquam tetigit cibus delectabilis.*

F.102 a. col.2. It was established that no one should enter the Purgatory without a letter of permission from the bishop in whose diocese the Purgatory lay; if the bishop could not dissuade the penitent from undertaking the perilous journey, he was to give him a letter to the prior of the Purgatory who also should endeavor to dissuade the bearer from his undertaking. If all persuasions were of no avail, the penitent was to confess and remain fifteen days in the church in fasting and prayer. At the end of this time he was to be conducted to the Purgatory with procession and litany, and having received the blessing of all, he was to be put into the Purgatory. The next morning the prior was to return to the door of the Purgatory, and if the penitent was there in waiting, he was to be received joyfully and to be conducted again to the church to spend another fifteen days in prayer and thanksgiving. But if he was not found at the door, then they were to know that he was forever lost, both body and soul.

F.102 b. col.1. In the time of King Stephen, a certain knight, named Owein, was taken with the desire to do penance for his sins in the Purgatory of St. Patrick. He received the letter from the bishop; he

overcame also the objections of the prior, and after his fifteen days fasting and prayer, he was placed in the Purgatory.

At first it was quite dark but soon it grew a little lighter, as it is in winter after sunset. Owein saw at a distance a beautiful building, built all open like a cloister; he entered and sat down in this building and soon fifteen men, all clothed in white, with heads newly shaven, appeared to him. The chief of these men addressed him and told him of the trials he was about to undergo and assured him that by repeating the name of Jesus, he would be able to escape them all. When the men had left him, Owein put on the armor of God, the breast-plate of justice, the helmet of eternal salvation, the shield of faith and the sword of the spirit which is the word of God. Thus protected he awaited the coming of the fiends of Hell. They soon gathered about him with yells and groanings. First they bound him hand and foot and cast him into a fire; but the name of Jesus saved him. He was then carried to the south-east—*ubi sol oritur in media estate*—to a great

F.104 a. col.2. field where sinners were fastened to the earth, face-downward, by burning nails. Some gnawed the earth in their torment and others continually cried in vain for mercy. The name of Jesus saved Owein from this torment also. He was led then to a second field where people were fastened to the earth as before, but with faces upward. Toads and all venomous reptiles bit and stung the sufferers; but Owein escaped as before.

F.104 b. col.1. He was then led to a third field where people lay on the earth with their bodies so filled with burning nails that there was not space to place a finger between them. In the next field, the fourth, were people hung in burning chains by the various members of the body. There also was a great fiery wheel, part of which passed through a pit of burning sulphur in its revolutions. On the spokes of this wheel were burning hooks and to the hooks were

F.105 a. col.1. fastened sinners; the fiends of Hell turned the wheel at such a rapid rate, that it seemed one circle of fire. After viewing and escaping from these torments, Owein was led to a bath-house of boiling metals which were contained in little pools so close together that one could not stand between them. In these pools people were immersed to different depths. Owein was then led to a mountain

F.105 a. col.2. from the top of which sinners were blown by a strong wind into a

stinking lake of icy water, where the fiends kept them continually
 F.105 b.col.1. beneath the water. Then he was taken to the pit of Hell, as the fiends said falsely. He was cast into this pit and almost forgot to say the name of Jesus; but he recollected his prayer in time to save himself. At all these torments Owein was offered the choice of returning unharmed to earth or of undergoing the torments; but he always refused to return and passed safely through them by the help of the name of Jesus.

After the false pit of Hell, Owein was led to the last torment,
 F.105 b.col.2. the true pit of Hell and the bridge that led over it. This bridge was difficult to cross for three reasons: first, it was slippery; second, it was so narrow and thin that it seemed no one could possibly stand or walk upon it; and third, it extended so high into the air that it was frightful even to look at. The fiends told Owein that he must cross this bridge; and to let him see the difficulty of the act, they took him by the arms and he mounted upon it. But by repeating the name of Jesus, Owein found no difficulty in walking on the bridge. The farther he walked the wider it grew, until it became so wide that two wagons might have passed on it. Thus Owein crossed the bridge safely, and left behind him the fiends who were powerless to follow him.

Here is inserted a sermon to be delivered by the reading monk
 F.106 a.col.2. to his listening brethren. Anselm is quoted on the evil of little sins; Augustine on the duty of humility; and Gregory on the method of lessening the pains of friends in purgatory.

F.108 a.col.1. After Owein had crossed the bridge, he came to a high wall, from a gate in which there issued a great procession of all men of religion. He was received by these men and conducted through the gate into a beautiful country of flowers, and fields, and fair trees, in which many birds were singing. Two bishops, who were chiefs of the procession, told him that this was the *terrestris para-*

F.108 b.col.2. *disus*; that the people of this Earthly Paradise were being gradually taken up into the true Heaven. They showed Owein the gates of Paradise, whence issued heavenly food like a flame, of which he partook; this was their only sustenance. Owein would gladly have remained here; but the bishops told him it was necessary for him to return to earth again, but that if he lived a good life, he would be received there on his death.

F.109 b.col.2. Here is inserted a second homily in which is given a detailed account of the spiritual joys of heaven.

F.111 a.col.1. Owein returned unmolested to the entrance of the Purgatory where he was met again by the fifteen men in white. In the morning, he was received by the prior of the Purgatory with great rejoicing; he remained in the abbey another fifteen days in prayer and thanksgiving. Afterwards he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return took the habit of religion.

F.111 a.col.1. The rest of the manuscript is taken up with proofs of the veracity of the above account. Gervase, abbot of Louth, gained consent of the Irish king to build a monastery in his land. Gervase sent Gilbert of Louth, who afterwards became abbot of 'basingewerch,' with others, to Ireland, to select a place and found the monastery. On arriving in Ireland, Gilbert found he had need of an interpreter

F.111 a.col.2. and the king gave him the knight Owein as interpreter. Owein often told Gilbert the story of his sufferings in Purgatory. Gilbert in turn often told the story when H[enry], the present writer, was present. One time when he told the story, some one expressed a doubt as to the reality of the visions of Owein, and Gilbert told them of a monk in his monastery who was carried out of his bed by devils and detained by them three days; on his return he was seen to be grievously wounded, and told of many torments he had

F.111 b.col.1. seen and experienced. '*Hucusque Gilebertus.*'

The author then takes the word. He says recently he asked two abbots of Ireland concerning this tale. One said he had never heard anything of it; but the other affirmed the truth of it. Also
F.111 b.col.2. he asked a certain bishop named Florentianus and this bishop also affirmed the truth of it, saying that the Purgatory was in his bishopric. The bishop further narrated a very remarkable event which occurred not far from the place of the Purgatory: there was a certain monk who used to be present at a council of devils which was held every night. At this council, they rehearsed their acts of the day and their plans for the morrow. In this way, the monk became acquainted with many of the most secret things of the neighborhood.

F.112 a.col.1. Then the bishop's chaplain tells two stories that he had heard from this same monk that the bishop had told about. One night when the devils were assembled, and in response to their chief,

each was telling what his spoils of the day were, one said "I bring bread and cheese and butter and flour;" and said that he had taken it from a rich farmer who had told two clerks that he had nothing to give them, while all the time he kept this in secret.

F.112a.col.2. This monk also told of a certain priest whom the devils had often tried to lead astray. One night one of the devils perfected a plot to win him. As the priest was taking his usual morning walk in the cemetery, he found beside a cross, a little babe. He took the child and gave it into the hands of a nurse, who reared her carefully. Fifteen years later the plot of the devil began to ripen. The priest was filled with a violent passion for his adopted daughter. But just as he was about to commit a great act of sin, the power which does not permit man to be tempted above that he is able, came to his aid. He left the maid and seizing a knife, with his own hand mutilated himself, thus triumphing over the devil. The maid was put into a nunnery, where she continued to serve God.

F.112b.col.2. In a short epilogue the author again addresses the abbot of Sartis and beseeches the charitable judgment of all readers and hearers of his tale.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGEND IN SPANISH LITERATURE: THE HISTORY OF LUIS ENIUS.

In Spanish literature the legend of the Purgatory took an interesting and original course of development. It was first given popular form by a writer of power and imagination—Juan Perez de Montalvan, follower and biographer of Lope de Vega, who in 1627 published a small book at Madrid, called *Vida y Purgatorio de S. Patricio*.¹ The story, however, was well known in Spain before the time of Montalvan's book. Montalvan states as much when he declares the purpose of his book to be to draw forth "la

¹ *Vida y Purgatorio de S. Patricio*. Por el Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan, natural de Madrid. En esta quinta impresion emendada y añadido por el mismo Autor. En Madrid. Año MDCXXVIII.

piadosa verdad desta materia, que hasta aqui ha padecido algunos accidentes, por lo apocrifo de los quadernos que andan por todo el mundo manuscritos" (f. 37).

Montalvan gave the hero of his version a name which in varying forms is thereafter one of the constantly recurring names of the knight who visited the Purgatory. It is curious to note the changes which Henry of Saltrey's "miles Owein" has undergone at the hands of different writers. In Latin the name is generally Owenus, Oenus, Oengus; in English it is Owen, Owein or Owayne, Sir Howyne, Owain Miles; in French it is Oben, Egnus, Oiens, Oieus; and in Spanish the name, as given by Montalvan, is Ludovico Enio or Luis Enius. As Montalvan's version is of importance in starting a long line of translations and adaptations, a full analysis of it will be necessary.

At the beginning of the volume the author has inserted a number of letters of commendation and dedication. Among these are the license for the printing of the book, dated February 3, 1627; a letter of approbation dated January 3, 1627, at Madrid; a similar letter dated at Madrid January 21, 1627, wherein the writer states that he has read the book and finds nothing therein contrary to the Catholic faith or to good morals, and declares his belief that it will increase the devotion and faith of those who occupy themselves in reading it. The body of the book is in nine chapters. The first chapter tells of the parents of St. Patrick, of his birth, his early education, his miracles, his mission and his death. The usual stories of St. Patrick's abduction, his service as slave, his visions and his miracles are told.

The second chapter treats of certain particulars concerning the soul for the better understanding of the Purgatory of St. Patrick. The first part of the chapter endeavors to prove that the soul is a purely spiritual substance. The author says (f. 30 b) that at the very instant the soul leaves the body, it is conveyed to one of four places—Heaven, Purgatory, Limbus, or Hell. The earth is round like a sphere. The lowest part of the earth is the center, an indivisible point and this point is Hell. Heaven is the highest point on the earth, and is a sort of cover or lid (*cubre*, f. 31) for the earth. Purgatory is between Heaven and Hell but nearer to Hell than to Heaven. Not quite so close to Hell as Purgatory, is

the Limbus of little children ; a little higher yet is the Bosom of Abraham where dwell all those good men who died before the year of grace. The just immediately on passing from this life are received into Heaven, where they enjoy forever the sight of God. Those, however, who have died in their sins, are transported straight to Hell ; and there although the pains are infinite in number, yet there are twenty special pains that the damned suffer—ten physical and ten spiritual or mental. The physical pains are : first, a fire that burns incessantly yet does not consume ; second, the pain of extreme cold ; third, a great noise of howling and wailing ; fourth, a thick smoke ; fifth, the stench of burning sulphur ; sixth, the sight of the horrible demons and fiends of Hell ; seventh, the torture of hunger and racking pain ; eighth, the torture of intense thirst ; ninth, the great number of the punished—so great that when the fiends leave off punishing them, they torture each other by reason of their nearness ; tenth, the distress of being compelled to remain naked and of being treated as slaves. The ten spiritual pains are (f. 34 a) : first, the lack of the sight of God ; second, remorse of conscience ; third, the hatred of the just ; fourth, the abhorrence of God ; fifth, envy of the blessed ; sixth, the constant fear of greater torments ; seventh, the knowledge that their condition is everlasting ; eighth, the sorrow they feel for their unhappy position ; ninth, the great desire they have to die, being by no means able to do so ; tenth, the horror they have conceived of the crimes committed in the body, the desire to be swallowed up in the abyss of the earth rather than that their misdeeds be brought before them. Those (f. 35 b) who die without baptism before reaching the age of discretion are received into Limbus, where they suffer no actual torment but are deprived forever of the sight of God ; and those who die without having made satisfaction for any sin whatsoever, go to Purgatory there to be purified before they can enter Heaven. The author then reverts (f. 36 a) to his main purpose, to tell of the special Purgatory of St. Patrick, where one still living may enter : “*estando con su entera salud*” (f. 36). He declares that although the church does not demand belief in this Purgatory under pain of anathema, yet the authorities that attest the truth of it deserve greatest confidence.

The third chapter describes the situation of the Purgatory and gives the reason why St. Patrick sought the revelation of it from the Lord. The description of the situation of the Purgatory is very free and poetical. The Augustinian monastery is described as situated in a very beautiful and fertile valley which is surrounded by a rugged and mountainous country. The pit itself, the entrance to the Purgatory, is said to be two hundred feet in length and breadth (f. 40 a). The reason given for the revelation of the Purgatory is the usual one—that it was to overcome the incredulity of the people and to afford a visible sign of the things St. Patrick preached to them.

Chapter four cites authorities and gives reasons why one should have confidence in the certitude of the Purgatory. The author's list of authorities includes all the chief writers on the legend down to his time. In chapter five the preliminary ceremonies of the Purgatory are described. The account is in all respects the same as that given in the earlier versions.

In chapter six begins the story of Luis Enius. It is in this chapter that Montalvan has dealt most freely with his materials. The dozen or less lines which in the earlier accounts are given to the knight's early life, are here expanded into a long chapter of detail and incident. The story runs as follows: Luis was born in Ireland, but at a very early age he left that country and went to Toulouse. His family was one of wealth and high position and Luis had all the advantages that such condition brings with it. He was, however, possessed of an evil disposition. Before his fifteenth year Luis was left an orphan, and from that time, he led a life of extravagance and profligacy, squandering the money and estates his father had left him. When his money was all gone, he often resorted to deeds of violence in order to maintain himself, and many murders were laid at his door. One of his victims, however, outwitted him and devoted himself to the task of bringing him to justice. Frightened at this turn of affairs, Luis fled to a monastery near Perpignan where he was received and kindly treated as a penitent sinner. At this monastery there was a beautiful girl named Theodosia, cousin to Luis. The evil in Luis' nature soon asserted itself. He persuaded his innocent cousin to rob the monastery and to fly with him to Spain. They reached

Valencia in safety with their treasure which, however, was soon spent in riotous living. After this in order to continue his life of ease and pleasure, Luis made merchandise of the beautiful Theodosia. For ten years they lived this life of shame up and down Spain, when Theodosia in an accession of strength, escaped to the refuge of a monastery in Andalusia. Here in spite of the efforts of Luis to regain her, she remained until her death a short time after. When he saw that Theodosia was forever lost to him, Luis drifted back to Toulouse where he found a state of war. He enlisted in the French army, and soon, by his reckless bravery and boldness, was raised to the rank of captain. But his position served him only as a shield in a course of even greater profligacy and wickedness than he had pursued before.

One night he had made plans to murder a man who was one of his creditors. But having mistaken the time his victim would pass a certain point, he arrived at the place too early. As he stood waiting, a paper fluttered down before him without falling, and as he grasped at it, it constantly eluded him. Led on by this paper, he wandered far from the place and his victim escaped him. On the second night the murder was prevented in the same way. On the third night, Luis secured the paper, and as he grasped it, he saw beside him a cross, all illuminated, with this inscription in the French language (f. 70): '*Aquí mataron a un hombre, rueguen a Dios por él.*' On looking at his paper, Luis saw depicted a death and beneath this death were the words written in large letters: '*Je soy Ludovico Enio.*' Luis accepted this marvel as a warning. He reflected upon the course of his life, and for the first time felt remorse for his evil deeds. He betook himself to Rome. Here in the church of St. Paul he heard a Dominican preaching and to him he confessed all the sins of his life. The Dominican was merciful and imposed so light a penance that Luis could scarcely believe his confession had been understood. Thereafter he lived in joy and peace, continually thanking the divine mercy of God, and reading much in books of good counsel. In his reading, he happened upon a book that told of St. Patrick's Purgatory and was immediately taken with a great desire to do penance at this holy place for his life of sin. Overcoming the objections of his friends in Rome, Luis made his way to Ireland, received a letter

from the Archbishop and hastened to the Purgatory. The prior of the Purgatory received him kindly and after the performance of the customary ceremonies, he gave him this prayer (f. 78): '*Jesu Christo hijo de Dios vivo, tened misericordia de mi pecador*,' and put him into the Purgatory. Returning the next day the prior found Luis waiting at the entrance of the Purgatory. He was joyfully received by the prior and his monks. Luis then begged that he might take on the habit of their order and he was gladly received into their number. The prior was curious to know all about the strange things that had befallen Luis in the Purgatory and at his request Luis told him everything.

In the two chapters following (VII and VIII) Luis gives a description of the pains of Purgatory. The account is an abbreviated form of the older versions. Luis is first met by twelve men in white; after warning and advice have been given him by their chief, the course of punishment begins. When Luis has advanced some distance into Purgatory, he finds that the sufferers have something more cheerful and hopeful in their expression than he had noticed before. He discovers that the more cheerful ones will soon be freed from their sins and will be ready for Heaven. In this state he met many people that he had known on earth—first, the Dominican at Rome to whom he had confessed; also, his cousin who, when he left his country, was not yet dead. Luis asked how she who had led such a pious life should come to be in Purgatory and she answered, for her vanity in dress and the great trouble she had taken in the care of her face. Having passed through the torments, Luis came to the river of Hell and the bridge. The bridge was hard to cross for four reasons: first, it was made of ice whereon one might easily slip; second, it swung continually up and down; third, there was no support to which one could hold; and fourth, a strong wind blew against it continually. Luis, however, helped in the usual way by his prayer, crossed the bridge safely and then entered into the Earthly Paradise.

In the last chapter (Cap. IX) Luis describes the assembly of the blessed and what passed in this company. He was shown the glories of the Earthly Paradise, and finally, much against his will, he was led back to the way through Purgatory. On his return journey he was not molested by the fiends. But on approaching

the entrance he found no door. He had recourse to his prayer, there was a loud clap of thunder, a rending of the rocks, and he fell a great distance. Through clefts in the rock he found his way to the gate where he was received by the prior. The chapter closes with an account of a nine days penance and prayer, and the receiving of Luis into the monastery.

The Purgatory part of Montalvan's story is the least important part. It is probable, as Ticknor says,¹ that this book was written by Montalvan "to satisfy the demands of his ecclesiastical position." But it can hardly be called a religious book. The chief interest of the story centers about the wild tale of the life of Luis Enius, which is almost entirely of the author's own invention. Montalvan himself, in his address to the reader, characterizes his book as a religious novel: "*te remito el Purgatorio de san Patricio: en que a mi ver hallaràs una devota suspension, que te divierta, y atemorize; una novela a lo divino, que te propoquie, y escarmiete; y una historia prodigiosa, que juntamente te castigue, y lisonjee.*"

The author was familiar with all the Purgatory literature that had been written down to his time. In an indication of his sources, he gives a long list of names, among which are Henry of Saltrey, Mathew Paris, Ralph Higden, Jacobus a Voragine, Jacques de Vitry, Messingham, and O'Sullivan, whose *Compendium* had appeared six years before. From O'Sullivan, Montalvan derived many features of his version that are not common to the older texts; for example, the incident of the cousin punished for vanity and the description of the bridge over the river of Hell.

The book was very popular in Spain. It passed through a number of editions and "was long" says Ticknor² "a popular book of devotion." Its popularity was not, however, confined to Spain. It was translated into French a few years after its publication, first at Brussels,³ in 1637; this translation is without the additions of a second translation made by F. Bouillon⁴ at Paris,

¹ *History of Spanish Literature.* Vol. II, p. 314.

² Vol. II, p. 367, note.

³ *La Vie Admirable Du Grand S. Patrice Avec l'Histoire veritable de son fameux, et tant renommé Purgatoire.* Mise en Espagnol par le Docteur Jehan Perez de Montaluan natif de Madrid. Et traduit en François sur la sixiesme edition, par F. A. S. Chartreux à Bruxelles. A Bruxelles l'an MDCXXXVII.

⁴ *Histoire de la Vie et du Purgatoire de S. Patrice,* mise en François par le R. P. François Bouillon. A Paris. MDCXLIII.

1643. This second translation was the more popular of the two in France and passed through numerous editions. It is a very close rendering of Montalvan's book, omits nothing, and only once or twice adds anything. The most interesting addition is where Montalvan describes the different places of abode for souls after death. Bouillon adds another explanation of the Limbus of little children and supports his view by a long list of citations. His theory is that infants after the universal judgment will occupy the earth which will then have been purified by fire. These children will have all the joy possible on earth, the beauty of the sky, the sun, the flowers, trees and birds, but will ever lack what alone could make them supremely happy—the sight of God.

Wright (p. 156–8) is mistaken in placing Bouillon's translation in the eighteenth century and in supposing that it is derived from Calderon's drama of *St. Patrick's Purgatory*. Wright says (p. 157): "The first censorial approbation attached to it is dated in 1701, while another bears date 1742." The book in its construction very evidently follows the pattern of its original. There is first a letter of dedication; next an address to the reader; third, an official license for the printing of the book, which is dated November 27, 1642; fourth, a letter of approbation, certifying that the writers of the letter have read the book and find nothing in it contrary to faith and good morals, dated December 7, 1642, at Paris; and fifth, an extract from the royal privilege, dated Paris, December 16, 1642.

The history of Luis Enius was also soon translated into Dutch in "*Het Wonderlyck Leven van den grooten H. Patricius, Patriarch van Irlandt. Met de vreeselycke ende wonderlycke Historie van het Vaghevier van den selven Heylighen.*"¹ It is a very close translation of Montalvan's book. That it is taken from the Spanish (or more likely from the Brussels translation), is evident from the fact that it does not contain Bouillon's disquisition on the Limbus of little children nor the other additions of his translation.

¹ The edition I have used declares itself to be the eighth: Den achsten druck van veel grove druck-fouten verbeteret. Tot Antwerpen Voor Willem van Bloemen. Men vint-se te koope, Tot Ghent, by Cornelis Meyer, op d'Hoog poorte in 't gecroont Sweert. The date and place of the translation, Brussels, 1668, we learn from the 'Censura' which precedes, dated September 26, 1668.

An idea of the continued popularity of this Dutch translation may be had from the appearance almost a century later of another edition¹ of the same book—doubtless one of many. The 'Censura' of the earlier edition is repeated, and a new one is added, dated Nov. 26, 1756, with permission of publication.²

Luis Enius is also the hero of Calderon's religious drama, *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*.³ The play is not as Wright supposes (p. 154), chiefly the creation of Calderon's own imagination. It has, as its single source, the story as given by Montalvan, and is nothing more nor less than a dramatization of Montalvan's book. It was written before 1635 (Hartzenbusch, vol. iv, p. 674); Montalvan's book was published in 1627.

The play treats first of the life of St. Patrick, his abduction, his miracles, and his mission; then of the life of Luis Enius, and lastly, of Luis' visit to the Purgatory of St. Patrick.⁴ The people of the play are Egerius, king of Ireland, a fierce enemy of all religion; Saint Patrick; Luis Enius; Philip, a soldier and lover of the king's daughter; Polonia and Lesbia, the king's daughters; and other less important characters. The chief additions to the list of characters are a gracioso, or clown, and his wife. The scene passes in Ireland at the court of Egerius and other places.

The play opens on the sea-shore, with precipitous cliffs. The king is enraged at a strange and unintelligible vision he has had,

¹ Title as above, except: In dezen laetsten Druk overzien en gezuuyvert. Tot Mechelen, by J. A. Cnicks. Men vindt ze te koop tot Gend, by L. van Paemel, Boekdrukker, Overschelde.

² Lowndes (*Bibliog. Manual*), under *Patrick*, notes a book in Italian, which I have not seen, but which, judging from the title, is a translation of Montalvan's book into that language. The title is: *Vita del Prodigioso, S. Patricio, Primate dell'Ibernia, divisa in XIV libri, con la relazione del rinomata sua Purgatorio Scritto da Marco Parisiense e la Veridica Storia di Luigi Ennio*. Venezia 1757.

³ *Comedias de Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*. Hecha é ilustrada por Don Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Madrid, 1848. *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*, vol. i, pp. 150-166.

⁴ The play has been admirably translated into English in the *Dramas of Calderon*, translated by Denis Florence M'Carthy, Esq. London, 1853. *The Purgatory of Saint Patrick*, vol. II, p. 141 to p. 258.

Also: *Calderon's Dramas*. Now first translated fully from the Spanish in the metre of the original. By Denis Florence Mac-Carthy. London, 1873. *The Purgatory of St. Patrick*, pp. 235-377. This second is an entirely new translation and is to be preferred to the one of 1853.

of a lovely youth from whose mouth came a lambent fire that consumed his two daughters, but left him unconsumed. As he is endeavoring to explain this wonder, a trumpet sounds and Polonia who is expecting the arrival of her lover, Philip, goes forth to see if it is he. She returns with the mournful announcement that Philip's ship has been wrecked within sight of land, beneath a clear sky. Immediately Patrick and Luis enter, apparently the sole survivors of the wrecked ship. In obedience to the king's command, Patrick in a long speech gives an account of himself, of his birth-place, his parents, his education, his early miracles; he tells how he was captured by the pirate Philip, who intended to bring him as a present to Egerius, and how Heaven had ordered the destruction of Philip's boat there in sight of land; how he had saved himself more out of desire to save Luis Enius, towards whom some mysterious instinct drew him, than for love of his own life. Patrick then interprets the king's vision: the flame is the word of God which shall convert the king's daughters who will be saved; but the king himself will not be saved. Luis follows Patrick in a second long speech, giving a reckless account of all his many evil deeds. After this Egerius, who hates all Christians, spurns Patrick and sends him as his slave to watch his flocks. In Luis, however, who is Christian only in name, he finds a congenial spirit and takes him into his favour. But before they separate to their different fates, Patrick draws from Philip the promise that, alive or dead, they two shall meet again on this earth. The act closes with an angelic visit to Patrick in his slavery. The angel gives him a letter in which his country calls upon him for deliverance; he further bids him go to France to study, to Rome to get his commission from the Pope, and finally to Tours where he is to visit Martin.

The second act opens three years later: We find that Philip was not drowned at the time his ship was wrecked and has now returned to the court. Luis, however, who has been much honored by the king has succeeded in drawing to himself the love of Philip's mistress, Polonia. In a quarrel with Philip, Luis attempts to take the life of his rival and thus incurs the displeasure of the king. He is thrown into prison and the king orders his execution, less, however, because of his misdeed than that he is at least

nominally a Christian and Patrick who has returned to Ireland and has been preaching his mission, has enraged the king more than ever against the Christian faith. Polonia, however, comes to Luis in prison, bringing treasure with her and they escape together. Once free of the prison, in order to make his escape more sure and to possess for himself the treasure, Luis kills Polonia. Luis then flees to Spain. The king and his party, in search of Luis and Polonia, find the dead body of Polonia among the flowers. Patrick, in the vicinity of whose hut the murder had occurred, as a sign to the king who demands a proof of Patrick's declaration of the immortality of the soul, raises Polonia to life. The visions she has seen during her period of unconsciousness have converted her to the Christian religion; but Egerius is still incredulous, and after a long metaphysical argument with Patrick concerning Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, he commands Patrick under pain of death to give him a visible sign of the pains of Purgatory and the joys of Heaven.

Patrick prays that Purgatory, Heaven, and Hell may be revealed to unbelieving mortals' sight. A good and a bad angel visit him, but the good angel is finally victorious and the prayer is granted. Patrick conducts the king and his followers to the cave of Purgatory. Dread portents warn them from it; Polonia appears and tells how she had attempted to take refuge in the cave and was frightened away by cries of pain and horror. Egerius, however, unmoved by Polonia's dreadful description, approaches the cave and enters. He sinks into it with much noise, flames rise from below and many voices are heard. With cries of horror all flee from the place.

The third act opens with the return of Luis to Ireland. During the time of his absence Patrick has died; and Luis thinks of his old promise, that they two, alive or dead, should meet once more on this earth. Luis has not forgotten his old quarrel with Philip and has come back to avenge the insult Philip had done him, by killing his rival. On two successive nights he is diverted from his purpose by the appearance of a muffled figure that leads him away from the place he had appointed for the deed. The third night he follows the figure which is mysteriously protected from his sword, and tears off the cloak that conceals it from his eyes.

Beneath the garment he finds a stiff and stony skeleton. In answer to Luis' question, the skeleton declares itself to be a most faithful portrait of Luis himself.

Luis takes warning from this fearful portent; a mysterious voice tells him of the Purgatory as he is casting about for some method of doing penance. He immediately sets out for the cave. Near by it he meets Polonia who has been living the life of a hermit in the vicinity. There is mutual recognition and Polonia directs Luis to the place of the Purgatory. Luis performs the established rites in the Augustinian monastery and enters the cave. The next morning the prior and his monks, together with Lesbia, Philip (who has now settled his affections on Lesbia) and the other characters of the play, all brought together by Polonia, go to the entrance of the cave to meet Luis. He comes forth safe and sound. At the command of the prior, Luis relates in a long speech all that befell him in the Purgatory. He also tells how, in the Earthly Paradise, he met Patrick, thus fulfilling the compact they had made many years before. The play closes with an epilogue in which Calderon repeats the list of authorities for the legend which Montalvan had inserted into his work.¹

The play is fairly close in its adherence to the original, although it emphasizes the love story somewhat more than Montalvan's account. The chief addition is a *gracioso*—"as rude and free-spoken as the rudest of his class" (Ticknor, II, 367). In one incident Calderon greatly improves upon his predecessor—in the skeleton scene of the third act. The floating piece of paper in Montalvan's story offers the suggestion for a very fine dramatic situation in the drama. "The story of the vision of himself at Lerici, as recorded in some of the lives of the poet Shelley, which is almost identical with that in Calderon, was evidently suggested by this scene" (MacCarthy, pp. 352-3).² But the chief worth of the play lies in the scattered passages of true poetic beauty and

¹ The absurdity of this list of "monkish authorities" is not so great as Ticknor (vol. II, 368) may lead one to believe; for the list occurs in a sort of epilogue and comes rather from the author than from Luis.

² Shelley, in the Preface to the *Cenci*, states that Beatrice's description of the chasm where her father is to be murdered (Act III, Sc. I) was suggested by a passage in Calderon's *El Purgatorio*. The passage in Calderon is Act II, Sc. XIX.

greatness to be found in almost every scene. The play is, according to Ticknor (II, 318), "commonly ranked among the best religious plays of the Spanish theatre in the seventeenth century."

From the stage, parts of Calderon's drama passed into the popular literature of the chap-book. *La Cueva de San Patricio*¹ is a curious broadside of eight pages, with quaint wood-cut illustrations. It is divided into two parts; the 'Primera Parte' relates the life of Luis Enius and is taken word for word from Calderon's drama, Act I, Sc. II (Hartzenbusch, pp. 151-2). The 'Segunda Parte' relates the torments that Luis endured in Purgatory. It includes, with the exception of five lines at the beginning, all the long speech of Luis, delivered at the request of the prior, in Act III, Sc. x (Hartzenbusch, pp. 164-6).

In the next century there appeared another edition of the same extract. *Relacion el Purgatorio de San Patricio*,² printed at Cordoba, contains only the first speech of Luis, which tells of his life. It is number 254 of a series of chap-books; probably the second speech follows in a later number of the same series. The pamphlet is not dated, but it is evidently late. The British Museum catalogue places it, with question, at 1850, which is doubtless the approximate date.

In Spain, popular belief in the Purgatory was kept alive to a very late period. Numerous protests were directed against the story and the superstitious practices it encouraged among the people. With this purpose one of the papers of Benito Feijoo's *Theatro Critico*³ takes up the subject of St. Patrick's Purgatory. Feijoo (1676-1764), who has been called the "Spanish Addison," wrote voluminously on the abuses and superstitions of his time, and to him is to be accorded the credit of overthrowing many of the popular errors of the Spain of the eighteenth century.

¹ *La Cueva de San Patricio*. [Col.] Con Licencia: En Madrid, en la Imprenta de Cruzada. Año. de 1764.

² *Relacion el Purgatorio de San Patricio*. [Col.] Con licencia: En Cordoba, en la Imprenta de D. Luis de Ramos y Coria, Plazuela de las Cañas donde se hallará todo genero de surtimiento, y estampas en negro è iluminadas.

³ *Theatro Critico Universal, o Discursos Varios en todo Genero de Materias, para desengaño de Errores comunes*. Escrito Por el muy ilustre Señor Don Fray Benito Geronymo Feijoo. En Madrid MDCCLV. Tomo Septimo, pp. 156-179.

In the essay on the legend of the Purgatory, Feijoo declares (p. 157) his purpose to be to find out what truth there is in the popular story of the Purgatory. He recites the story as it is given by Matthew Paris (pp. 158-9), and by Calderon (pp. 160-1); and mentions the story of Owen as given by Henry of Saltrey (p. 168), the version by O'Sullivan, of Raymond (p. 168), and the story of the monk of Eymstadt (p. 169) taken from the Bollandist account. After reviewing the literary forms of the legend, Feijoo examines it from the point of view of its conformity to the rules of the church, and finds that it contains various falsehoods and irregularities. His denunciation is expressed in respectful and restrained language. But he concludes that though St. Patrick himself may have had the visions of the Purgatory, it is impossible to suppose that they have continued an abiding feature of the Cave.

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGEND IN FRENCH LITERATURE.

The popularity of the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory was as lasting in French literature as in Spanish literature. There are evidences of the continuous life of the legend from the first translation by Marie de France in the twelfth century to the middle of the last century.

It is interesting to note that several visits of Frenchmen to the Purgatory are matters of actual record. One very early visit was apparently made in 1248 by one named Godalh.¹ It seems prob-

¹ *Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Mélanges Historiques*: ed. by M. Champollion Figeac, Paris, 1847; Vol. III, pp. 258-376, is a reprint of *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits concernant l'histoire de France et la littérature française, conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Italie*, Paris, 1839. On p. 325 of this reprint, in a list of the French MSS. at Turin, M. Lacroix records the vision of Godalh. The MS. is marked 4. 22. K, a folio MS. of 122 ff., paper, of the XIII century. The version which has not been printed is called: "*Una vesion fou facta en Ibernian en l'an de Notre Senhor 1248 qí era lo segond an de papa eugens quart.*" The opening lines are as follows: "*Un home hat en Ibernian, qí havia nom Godalh, qí fou mot cruel e pervers en tota sa vida, e era noble de linhage, alegie de cara e de bel regardament, e estant jove siant si en ayso mespreet tot aco qí era de salu d s'arma, aysi con el depueys ho recontava cum lagremas. . . .*"

able that the account given by Godalh resulted from an actual visit to the place described.

As proof of another visit to the Purgatory, there is preserved a bit of the official evidence with which it became common to support the later visits. In Rymer's *Foedera* (Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 135) there is a letter, "*De salvo conductu, ad visitandum Purgatorium Sancti Patricii*," given at Westminster by Richard II, under date Sept. 7, 1397, to "*Reymundos vicecomes de Perilleux et de Rodes Chivaler, Camerarius carissimi Patris nostri Franciae*," together with twenty men and thirty horses in his retinue. Raymond made his visit and afterward wrote an account of his experiences in the Limousin dialect.¹ Raymond's story fell into the hands of O'Sullivan, who translated it into Latin and placed this Latin translation in his *Compendium*.² O'Sullivan tells us (Cap. I) that while he was in Spain a colleague gave him a '*libellum manuscriptum*,' in which a Viscount Raymond told of his journey to St. Patrick's Purgatory, his experiences there, and his return home. This book he declares it to be his intention to translate as literally as possible. In Cap. II Raymond tells his story in the first person: "*Ego Ramon Dei gratia Perellosium et Rodarum vicecomes, Seretæ Baro, fui apud Carolum Galliae regem, quo cum pater meus, suus clavicularius et militiae praeffectus moriens me reliquit, ab ineunte aetate educatus*." Taken with a desire to view the wonders of the world, Raymond set out with his followers and saw many things, all of which he now purposes to pass over except the Purgatory of St. Patrick. He then gives the reason for the founding of the Purgatory, the rites to be performed by aspirants for entrance, and then the story of the monk with one tooth (cf. above, p. 7). Then follows his reason for visiting the Purgatory: When Charles of France died Raymond betook himself to John of Arragon, king of Spain, '*cujus fui jure gentium cliens*;' John treated him with much honor and kindness. After the king's death, Raymond desired earnestly to know how his former master fared in Purgatory, and

¹Brunet (*Le Voyage du puy Saint Patrice*, p. 41 note) says this text is printed in the *Memoires de la Société archéologique du Midi*. Stimming's account of Provençal literature, Gröber, *Grundriss der Roman. Philologie*, Vol. II, p. 63, records a second edition: Du Mège, *Voyage au purgatoire de Saint Patrice par Perillos et le libre de Tindal*, Toulouse, 1832. I have had access to neither of these editions.

²Tom. I, Lib. II, Cap. I-III.

to satisfy this curiosity he had undertaken the journey. He first went to Paris; the king of France gave him commendatory letters to the king of England, by whom he was kindly received and sent on to Ireland. At Dublin he met Richard, Earl of March, who gave him letters to the Archbishop of Ireland. The Archbishop in turn sent him '*ad O'Nellum regem,*' king of the country in which the Purgatory lay. And finally he was sent by this king to the monastery at the Purgatory. Arrived there, he made final preparations to enter: "*Igitur testamentum condidi, duobus filiis meis, quorum natu major Ludovicus et alter Ramon nomine gaudebat, et caeteris comitibus quid agerent, si ipse a scrobe non reverterer, praescripsi.*" Another knight, he says "*Anglus Eques Taresi Dominus*" entered the cave at the same time with him; but they were soon separated and he saw nothing more of him. The prayer that was given him was: "*Christe fili Dei vivi miserere mei peccatoris.*" He met the twelve men in white in the monastery-like building, and after their departure the torments began. The account follows Henry of Saltrey closely until the fourth field of torments; in this field Raymond met King John. He asked for what fault the king suffered there, and received the following answer: "*id unum respondit, hujus saeculi principes atque magnates summopere oportere nemini injuriam facere in alterius gratiam, quantumcumque familiaris.*" He also met there a cousin of his: "*Obvia etiam mihi fuit Donna Aldonsa Carolea mea cognata, cujus interitus antea eram nescius, quia me proficiscente in vivis agebat. Haec eo potissimum torquebatur quod faciei comendae fucatisque coloribus depingendae nimium studebat. Omnes tamen (Deo sit gratia, laus et gloria) erant in via salutis.*"

He proceeded on his way and came to the bridge which was difficult to cross for three reasons: '*prima, pons ipse lubricus ex gelu confectus et angustissimus; secunda, pontis et riparum fluminis undique praescissarum praerupta altitudo ingentem terrorem afferens; tertia, fortissimi venti vis.*' He crossed the bridge by the help of his prayer and entered the Earthly Paradise where he beheld the joys of the blessed; he also partook of the heavenly food, in the form of a flame. After he had returned to the upper world, he performed the customary rites and then went back to Paris. '*Haec fuit mea profectio in Divi Patriti purgatorium.*'

The story of Raymond is, with the exceptions noted, a very close following of Henry of Saltrey. It may have been written, as Wright (p. 136) supposes, with some political object; but it was surely written as a description of an actual visit paid to the Purgatory by the hero of the tale.

Perhaps the most interesting forms of the legend in French literature are two printed, prose translations of the Latin original of the fifteenth century. For convenience these two versions may be called by the opening words of the texts: the one may be called the *Au tempz*-version, the other the *Il fut*-version. Both books are of excessive rarity. Of the *Au tempz*-version I have found but one copy, which appears never before to have been noticed. It is contained in the British Museum, and is without title page, name of place or date of printing or name of author; it is, however, a perfect copy.¹ From an examination of the typography, the British Museum authorities have dated the book at about 1480; the place of printing is possibly Lyons. The account covers twenty-one pages and is preceded by a wood-cut frontispiece representing the Virgin and the Child with two angels holding a crown of fleur-de-lys over the Virgin's head.

The date, place, and name of the printer of the *Il fut*-version are furnished by the colophon; it was first printed at Lyons by Claude Nourry, October the twentieth, 1506. There are four editions of this version; but the one printed by Nourry is the oldest of the four. Of the later editions, one was printed by J. Trepperel, no place or date given; another at Paris, "à l'Escu de France;" and the third at Paris by Jehans Bonfons, c. 1545. The edition of Claude Nourry has been twice reprinted. The first reprint by V[einant] et G[iraud] at Paris, 1839, was limited to forty-two copies; the second, by Philomnest Junior (Brunet) at Geneva, 1867, was limited to two hundred copies.²

¹ Catalogued under *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Beg: [A] *U tempz du roy estienne*. 1480? folio.

² *Le Voyage du puy saint patriz auquel lieu on voit les peines de purgatoire et les ioyes de paradis*. [Reprint by V[einant] et G[iraud] Dec. 20, 1839, Paris. 42 copies.]

Le Voyage du puy Saint Patriz auquel lieu on voit Les Peines de Purgatoire et aussi Les Joyes de Paradis, réimpression textuelle, augmentée d'une notice bibliographique, par Philomnest Junior, Genève, 1867. 200 copies.

It will not be necessary to give an analysis of the contents of these two versions, for with the exceptions noted below they are a free translation of the Latin original. In both versions the hero is called Oben and is said to be "*natif des parties Dalemaigne*." The account begins immediately with the story of Oben, omitting all the introductory chapters. In the great hall to which Oben first comes in the Purgatory, he is met, not by twelve or fifteen men of religion as in the early accounts, but by "*quatre cens et quinze quasi tous religieux*" (*Au tempz-text*, f. 2 a, col. 2). This number is the result of a curious misreading of the Latin original. The Latin text says "*ecce. xv. uiri quasi religiosi*," etc. (Roy. 13 B VIII, f. 103, col. 2). In the MS. the four letters of "*ecce*" look very much like four c's, and as such the translator has evidently read them. The prayer (which is not definitely stated in the early accounts but is only mentioned as the name of Jesus) is in both versions the same: "*ihesus filz de marie atoy rend mon corps et mon ame*" (*Au tempz-text*, f. 1 b, col. 2). In the early Latin accounts the two guides of Owen, who conduct him through the Earthly Paradise, are not named, except as "*duo quasi archiepiscopi*" (f. 108 a, col. 2). In the present versions they are named Enoch and Elias ("noc" and "helie" in the *Au tempz-text* and "Enoc" and "Elye" in the *Il fut-text*).

The question of the exact inter-relation of these two versions and their Latin source can hardly be definitely decided. As to the two printed versions it is evident at once that they are either derived from a common source, or that one is derived from the other. No third version that might serve as a common source for the printed versions is known to exist; and the most natural conclusion is that one version is derived from the other. External evidence would indicate, further, that the *Il fut-text* (1506) was derived from the *Au tempz-text* (1480). But after an examination of parallel passages from the two printed versions and from a MS. typical of the early Latin accounts, it has been found very difficult, owing to the freedom with which the source has been treated, to make positive statement of the relation of the versions to one another. In general it is to be noted that the *Au tempz-text* is somewhat fuller than the *Il fut-text*, and stands just a shade nearer the Latin source than the *Il fut-text*.

Other popular forms of the legend in France were the translation of the *Legenda Aurea* by Jean de Vignay (cf. Ward, *Catalogue* II, 131) made about 1333, and the so-called translation of the *Legenda* by Jean Belet (cf. above, p. 5). There is an early printed version of the de Vignay translation, Lyons, 1485 (cf. Butler, p. 39), which contains the Purgatory legend. These versions are, however, much abbreviated from the early accounts and add nothing original to the story.

It is not until the end of the sixteenth century that one finds a new treatment of the legend in France. Forcatel,¹ a writer of that period, preserves a form of the story that appears to be unique in its occurrence; I have found but this one reference to it. The writer brings the story into connection with the Arthurian cycle. He makes Arthur and Gawain visit the Purgatory and Arthur is with difficulty prevented by Gawain from entering: '*Ferebatur enim ad Manes peruius specus, vel certè ad locum, in quo animae eorum qui dum viuerent, sese vitiis ac labe aliqua eluibili inquinauerunt, recocti expolirentur: ut omni noxia purgatae et hilares inde in coelum euolarent. Fortè Patritius inter immanes et efferatos populos lepido commento vsus fuerat, quo magis eos à peccatis deterreret, et vlticem speluncam adesse penè domi ostenderet. Accepi ego ex quibusdam seriis Merlini commentariis Arthurum à Gauanio militie magistro reuocatum, ne penitus horridum antrum scrutaretur, in quo vtiq; audiebantur fragores aquae præcipitis odorem sulphureum emittentis, et vocum lugubre quiddam resonantium, velut suo corpore destitutarum.*' Then follows a fanciful account of the origin of the Cave, which the writer states was made by Ulysses. The account is a garbled version of Homer, *Odyssey* II, and Claudianus, *Lib. I in Ruffinum*.

In the seventeenth century the popular form of the story of the Purgatory in France was the translation of Montalvan's book by Bouillon. This translation passed through a great many editions and became as favorite a book of devotion in France as its original was in Spain. It is this form of the legend which seems to have carried the traditions of the story up to modern times. So late as the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a writer in an essay

¹ *De Gallorum Imperio et Philosophia, Libri Septem.* Stephano Forcatulo Jurisconsulto auctore. Parisiis, 1589.

called *Le Trou de Saint Patrice*¹ devotes himself to the task of disproving and ridiculing this form of the legend. The first part of the book is taken up with a consideration of superstition in general, followed by a citation of some of the superstitions of the author's day. Then, after a brief account of St. Patrick, the writer declares his intention of presenting a relation from '*un Historien Espagnol et un Auteur Flamand*' (p. 75). The Spanish historian is Montalvan, though he is not named, nor is the Flemish author, who is probably the translator, F. A. S., of Brussels. The writer then gives an abstract of Montalvan's version of the story of Luis Enius, fairly complete and true to the original. After he has heaped all manner of ridicule on this tale, the author discusses the question whether the Purgatory ever actually existed or not. It seems incredible that such a question should require serious consideration so late as 1774. Yet one infers from the author's words that popular belief in the Purgatory was even then wide spread in France (p. 75): '*L'erreur particulière de quelques enthousiastes est devenue une erreur publique.*' The writer then submits the legend to an elaborate examination, and finding evident misrepresentations and inconsistencies in it, he is led to believe that the whole story is a fabrication and a falsehood. Concluding, he says (p. 103): '*Il est donc plus que probable que le Trou de Saint Patrice n'a jamais eu d'autre existence que celle que lui a donné une imagination échauffée, délirante et creuse.*'

¹ *Le Trou de Saint Patrice*. A Dublin 1774. The name of the author is not indicated.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE PURGATORY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

At a distance from the vicinity of the Purgatory, naturally the history of the legend was chiefly a literary one. The accounts grew and changed by passing from author to author. In Ireland and England, however, though there are also literary accounts of visits to the place, its popularity was kept alive rather by actual visits made there from time to time. Some of the visits ostensibly furnished materials for the literary descriptions, but by far the greater number were disseminated orally. Up to the end of the fifteenth century, tourists of rank and position in Ireland mention visits to the Purgatory as to one of the marvels of the land worthy of all serious credence.

With the rise, however, of the later scepticism and the beginnings of the Reformation, the Purgatory ceased to be treated with its ancient respect. Contemporary with the attempt to establish the Reformation in Ireland, in the sixteenth century, frequent endeavors were made to induce the Irish to give up their superstitious observances; among other things done, about the year 1535, the staff known as the 'baculus of Jesus,' with which Patrick was said to have made the entrance to the Purgatory, was publicly burned, and the Purgatory itself was several times actually torn down and destroyed. But the Irish pertinaciously refused to give up the pilgrimage to which their priests still taught them to attach holy meaning; and probably to this present day, assuredly until late in the present century, pious pilgrims continued to visit the place first made famous by the monks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Several of the visits to the Purgatory are specially known to us from official letters still extant, which were granted by the kings of England, or the bishops of the diocese of Armagh to persons intending to make the pilgrimage. The official ceremonies of the Purgatory were stringently maintained to a very late date. Edward III, under date October 24, 1358, granted letters of safe-conduct to Malatesta Ungarus (hardly as Wright (p. 135) supposes a Hungarian), of Arminium (Rimini), in Italy; and like letters to

Nicholaus de Beccariis of Ferrara; these letters are printed in Rymer's *Foedera* (Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 174). Letters of safe-conduct were also granted by Richard III, September 7, 1397, to Raymond of Perilhos (*Foedera*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 135), whose version of his visit we have already discussed (cf. above, p. 25 ff.). These letters are doubtless a few that have been preserved from a great number given at the time.

It was also customary for visitors to receive letters from the bishop of the diocese in whose jurisdiction the Purgatory lay, to the prior of St. Patrick's Purgatory, authorizing them to make the visit; a number of these letters are still extant. They were extracted from the registry of Armagh by Dr. Jones and given in his '*Treatise of St. Patrick's Purgatory*;' ¹ they were taken, says Dr. Jones, from 'among infinite others' (p. 59). The first (Jones, p. 56-7) reads as follows: "Milo by divine permission Archbishop of Ardmagh, Primate of Ireland, to the religious and prudent man, the Pryor of St. Patrick's Purgatory in *Logh-derg*, within the Diocesse of *Clogher*, And to all others the Cleargie and Laitie within the Province of *Ardmagh* everlasting health in the Lord. *John Bonham* and *Guidas Ciffi* comming to us, have related that they have for devotions sake gone in pilgrimage, and visited many places: and that they are desirous for the health of their Soules to see the place called the purgatory of Saint *Patricke* our Patron, which is in the Diocesse of *Clogher* aforesaid: We doe therefore entreat and exhort in the Lord all and every by whom these strangers shall passe, that you would entertayne and receive them courteously: And that of the goods which God hath bestowed upon you, you would afford them some charitable helpe, not suffering (as much as in you lyeth) any molestation or disturbance to be given them. By which means we doubt not, but that you shall be pertakers of that their devout labors: Dated in the Citie of *Downe* the fifteenth day of *March*, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred sixty and five. And of our Consecration the fift."

A second letter, over a century later, may be quoted to show how long the official ceremonies of the Purgatory were kept up.

¹ *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*: Containing the Description, Originall, Progresse, and Demolition of that superstitious place. By Henry Jones, Bishop of *Clogher*. London, 1647.

This letter is from Octavian, bishop of Armagh 1480-1513; it also is preserved by Dr. Jones (p. 58-9): "Unto all the children of our mother the church to whom these our letters Testimoniall shall come, *Octavianus* by the grace of God and of the See Apostolike, Archbishop of *Ardmagh*, Primate of all *Ireland*, wisheth everlasting salvation in the Lord, wishing you would without question credit what followeth. Seeing it is an holy and meritorious thing to give your Testimonie unto the Truth, chiefly seeing our Saviour Christ the Sonne of God came downe from heaven into this world to beare witness of the truth: Hence it is that by these presents we make knowne unto you that *John Garhi*; and *Francis Proly* of the Citie of *Lyons* Priests, and *John Burgesse* their boy and servant (the bearers hereof) Men of good repute and piously affected did visit the Purgatory of the holy Confessor *Saint Patricke*, the Apostle of *Ireland* within which the sinnes of offenders are even in this world purged: And the mountaine in which the said holy Confessor did fast without Temporall meate *forty* dayes and *fortie* nights, together with other holy places of devotion, and things of greatest observation in *Ireland*: And that afflicting their bodies in fasting and prayer according to the Ceremonies of that place, they did for a certain time remaine in that Purgatory, as it cleerely appeareth to us: and that by the power of *Christ* our redeemer, they did contemplatively encounter all the fraudes and fantasticall temptations of the Devill; devoutly so finishing their pilgrimage and desiring the merits and the prayers of the said *Saint* to the most High, whom by these presents we receive into the protection of us, our Church of *Ardmagh*, and of the said holy Confessor, whose manners, life and perfection, we doe recommend unto you all, of which we are confident, having two yeares conversed with them."

Returning to the earlier part of the fifteenth century, one finds two detailed descriptions of visits made to the Purgatory. The first of these also gives some of the official documentary evidence which was a recognized feature of the ceremonies. The account is in Latin, in a B. M. MS. of the end of the 15th century.¹ The

¹ B. M. Royal MS. 10 B. ix, ff. 36 b-44 b. Paper; end of 15th century. Described by Ward, *Catalogue* II, p. 489 ff. It has not been printed.

whole is divided into fifteen chapters. The first chapter (f. 36 b) is entitled as follows: "*Prohemium memoriale super visitatione domini Laurencii Ratholdi militis et baronis Vngarie factum de Purgatorio sancti Patricii in Insula Hibernie.*" It tells of the foundation of the Purgatory by Patrick. The second chapter (f. 37 a) bemoans the fact that faith in the Purgatory has waned; the writer declares his intention to tell of one who actually entered the Purgatory, '*personaliter*,' '*tempore serenissimi Henrici quarti Regis Anglie post conquestum Anno regni sui duodecimo.*'

The third chapter (f. 37 b and 38 a) tells of the coming of Laurence to Dublin. It also gives a letter of commendation and introduction from King Sigismund of Hungary, dated January tenth, 1408.

The fourth chapter (f. 38 a and 38 b) tells of Laurence's visit to relics of Patrick, Columba and Bridget in Ireland; the fifth (f. 38 b and 39 a) tells of his coming to the prior of the Purgatory and the prior's address to him. The sixth (f. 39 a and 39 b) is a description of the island of Purgatory and of the entrance into the Purgatory. It concludes by telling how Laurence entered the place, burning one end of a candle divided into nine parts; his prayer was: *Domine Ihesu Christe Fili dei viui miserere michi peccatori.* The next four chapters (f. 40 a to f. 41 b) tell of the first, second, third and fourth visions of the knight in the cave. The visions are all much alike. Laurence himself suffers none of the torments; he is merely approached by the fiends, who immediately retire when he repeats his prayer. In the fourth vision, Laurence meets an angel who salutes him in the Hebrew tongue, "*Slam alecha*" [*i. e., Shālōm Ālēchā*], *quod interpretatur pax super te.*" Laurence asks the angel his name and he answers: "*Ego sum ille Michael prepositus paradisi quem tu semper fideliter adorasti per quem et venisti.*" The angel then leads Laurence to a valley full of fire and smoke, which he views only from a distance. This ends his vision of Purgatory and he is led back to the gate: "*Hanc facto quasi circa terciam horam post nouam sole in signo scorpii in XXVIII gradu, luna vero in libra anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} XI^{mo} existente. Prior veniens ad speluncam apertoque per ipsum hostio miles speluncam exiuit incolumis et iocundus.*"

The eleventh chapter (f. 43 a) tells of Laurence's return to Dublin; the twelfth (f. 43 a and 43 b) contains a certification by Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh, that he has received the enclosed letter from "*Matheus Prior Purgatorii sancti Patricii Clothof Raynes diocesi.*" The prior's letter certifies that Laurence passed a night in the Purgatory, and that among others he saw there "*Georgius filius Grifani militis de partibus ungarie et Eugenius dictus Obrian de Anglia.*" The prior's letter is dated: "*In Insula sanctorum, Feria quinta post diem sancti Martini.*" At the end of the chapter the writer names himself: "*Ego Jacobus Yonge notarius Imperialis civium et scriptorum minimus Civitatis Dublinensis predicti huius memorialis compilator indignus.*"

In the thirteenth chapter (f. 43 b) Laurence gives as proof that his vision was actually seen and not imagined, that he watched the nine parts of his candle burn away part by part. The last chapter (f. 44 a and 44 b) gives a general account of Laurence's accomplishments; he is said to be skilled in Greek, Hebrew, Latin and other branches of learning.

Almost none of the original features of the legend remain in this vision of Rathold. It is still made and seen in person; but in order not too much to tax the more sceptical imagination of later readers, the things seen are very much modified from the earlier visions. There is no vision at all of the Earthly Paradise.

The second account referred to is that which tells of the vision of William Staunton (a second ms. reads "of Stranton") the text of which is given at the conclusion of this study. As is true of most of the later accounts, the attendant circumstances, time, place and characters of the story, are given in great detail. The vision is seen on the first Friday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in the year 1409; William entered the Purgatory very early in the morning, the eighth hour before noon. He was put in by Matthew, the prior of the Purgatory. The prior gave him the following prayer as a protection: "*Ihesu Christe fili dei vivi misereri michi peccatori* (f. 133 a).

The relation is divided into two parts, a vision of Purgatory, and a vision of the Earthly Paradise. The traces of the old story though often very faint are to be recognized in many of the details. William soon after entering the Purgatory comes to the "restyng

place of seint patrik in þe whiche he abode the reuelacion of goddes angellis when he passed þat way in his tyme" (f. 133 b). Here he remained for awhile and "sumwhat slumbered and slepte." Soon there appeared to him two persons, a man and a woman, both clad in white. The man showed William the way he must follow through the Purgatory; his name he said was "Iohn of Bridlyngton" and the woman was "seint Ive" who lived in "Quitike" (f. 134 a). His two guides then left William and the torments of Purgatory began. First fiends attempted to turn him from his purpose under pretence of giving him friendly advice (f. 134 b). Then fearful monsters appeared to him, some with four faces, some with seven horns and some with five, some with a face on "euery elbowe" and some on "every kne." Here William forgot his prayer but was saved just in time by the appearance of St. Ive (f. 135 a).

When he had proceeded about the space of a mile, William was again met by St. John and St. Ive and with them were a sister of William's and a man who had been her lover in this life. William's sister complained to St. John and St. Ive that William had prevented the marriage of herself and her lover and for this William was severely rebuked by St. John.

St. John then led William to a fire in which he saw many people grievously tormented, some that he knew when they lived in the world. They were all gayly dressed, some with collars of gold and silver about their necks and some with girdles of gold and silver. Some had more jags on their clothes than whole cloth. The clothes of some were set full of jingles and bells of silver; and some had long pokes on their sleeves. There were women with long trailing gowns and others with chaplets of gold and pearls and other precious stones on their heads. Then the fiends came and took the gay gauds of gold and silver and tormented the sinners therewith, stuffing full their mouths, their noses and their ears. These, said John, are those who are punished for the sin of vanity (f. 136 b).

St. John then led William to another fire where he saw fiends cutting off the various members from sinners' bodies and then fastening them on again with molten metal. And St. John said these were they who had sworn by God's members and now they

were tormented in their own members (f. 137 b). In the third fire were those who had spent the holy days in gluttony and drunkenness; and now they were punished by having all manner of filth crammed down their throats (f. 138 a). In the fourth fire were those who had not well taught their children to honor their parents and now the parents themselves were dishonored by the fiends (f. 138 a). In the fifth fire were souls with all manner of goods burning on their backs; these were thieves. In this fire were also punished those executors who delayed to carry out the will of the dead (f. 138 b). In the sixth fire were punished those who for the sake of gain had borne false witness. And now that which they had hoped to gain was their greatest torment, whether it was gold, silver, woods, hills, or land (f. 139 a).

St. John then led William to the seventh fire in which were punished murderers and slayers of righteous men (f. 139 b). The eighth fire was exceedingly hot, and black as pitch; in it were hanging from burning chains the souls of many people, men and women. Some were hanging by the privy members, some by the heart, some by the eyes. All these, said St. John, had lived a life of lechery; and as they sinned in deed, or in desire, or merely in sinful looking, so were they punished (f. 140 a). In the ninth fire were tormented those parents who neglected to chastise their children; now the parents themselves were cruelly beaten by their children (f. 140 b). Here also were tormented backbiters.

St. John then showed William two towers, the one full of fire, the other of ice and snow. The souls of negligent priests and bishops were cast from the one tower to the other; and the souls of the people that the priests and bishops had failed to correct, now tormented them (f. 141 a). In the next fire, St. John showed those churchmen who, having more than enough for their own needs, yet allowed others to perish from want. Now they were tortured by those whom they should have relieved in their distresses (f. 141 b). In the next fire were tortured those divines who had neglected to say the services of the church. Here William saw an uncle of his who was a parson and who had died sixteen years before that time (f. 142 a).

The next place of torment was a house open above, in which there were great presses of clothes. From these presses there came

forth moths and worms which tortured those who, having more than they needed for their own use, had neglected to give to the poor and had allowed the moths to collect in their clothes (f. 142 b).

William was then led to a black and foul sheet of water; and over this water was a bridge. William saw a bishop endeavor to cross the bridge; but fiends came and tore down the pillars of the bridge and the bishop fell into the water where he was grievously tormented. This bridge, said St. John, was built by the bishop; but inasmuch as it was built chiefly for vain glory and as the money that was used in building it was falsely gotten, God had suffered the fiends to pull down the bridge; though if the money had been truly gotten, it would now have stood him in great stead. The bridge episode ends the torments of the Purgatory; the section ends with the words "*finis revelacionum penaliū*" (f. 144 a).

The second half of the recital begins with a statement, corresponding to the first homily of the early Latin accounts, of the manner in which the pains of Purgatory may be lessened. William then continued his journey, St. John going with him, however, only a short distance. When he was alone William again became very much frightened, but again St. Ive appeared to him and reassured him. William marked himself with his prayer and continuing his journey by the water side, he soon saw a high tower on the other side of the water. On the top of the tower there stood a fair woman; William knelt and said five paters and five aves and marked himself with his prayer. As he rose and looked at the tower he saw a ladder descending to him. But the ladder was very small and the first round was sharper than any razor; moreover it was so high that William could barely reach it. He again repeated his prayer and a cord descended from the ladder. Then with the help of the woman, he mounted the ladder and was soon across the black water and on the white tower. There the fair woman told him that the cord was one he had once given a chapman who had been robbed by Jews (f. 146 a). William was led by the fair woman through a very beautiful land, where they were met by a company of monks and priests, all clad in white. William was joyfully and thankfully received by the monks and priests (f. 146 b) but his request to remain there always was not granted (f. 147 a).

Before he returned, however, it was granted him to see the trial of a prioress of a nunnery who had come there for judgment (f. 147 b). One of the monks opened a book of the nuns' rule and law and examined her point by point. She was found guilty of wearing costly apparel, girdles of gilt and of silver, rings on her fingers and silver buckles on her shoes. She loved easy lying of nights, as though she was an empress; and with all delicate meats and drinks she was fed. And inasmuch as she had not forsaken her pride and evil ways until it was too late, now she was condemned to suffer pain ever more until the day of doom (f. 148 a).

Then William was given permission to return to the life of the world; he took his leave and was soon at the door where he first went in, having been disturbed not at all by the fiends on the return way. He beseeches all men to remember him in their prayers, as he will remember them in his. *Explicit* (f. 148 a).

It is interesting to note the echos of the early accounts in this version of the fifteenth century. The visit to the Purgatory is still made in actual person; and although William does not suffer much from the torments of the place, he is always in danger of so doing. As in the early accounts, the vision is divided into two parts; and the disquisition at the beginning of the vision of the Earthly Paradise on the efficacy of prayer and alms-giving in relieving the sufferers in Purgatory is an evident remembrance of the first sermon in the Latin account. The resting place of St. Patrick to which William came first after entering the cave is a recollection of the old cloistered hall in which Owen met the men in white; and the twelve or fifteen men in white are represented in the vision of William by the two people, St. Ive and St. John, both of whom are clad all in white and who meet William and give him direction as to the way to follow through the Purgatory. In the early narrative the words of the prayer are not given; in the vision of William the exact words are given, which are the same as the words of Laurence Rathold's prayer. Raymond of Perilhos had the same prayer, and the prayer of Luis Enius as given by Montalvan is a Spanish version of it.

The punishments in the vision of William are throughout appropriate to the sins for which they were assigned; in this respect the later account is more consistent than the original, where

there often appears to be no special fitness in the punishments. The river of Hell appears in the vision of William; but the bridge over it has undergone a curious change. It is no longer the bridge of Hell, but is one of the evil works of a sinner who is punished by means of it. The real place of the old bridge of Hell is taken by a tower, and a ladder and cord which are let down from the tower. The vision of the Earthly Paradise in William Staunton is much abbreviated. William is, however, met by a procession of priests in a beautiful meadow, full of flowers and trees and birds. And as in the older accounts, he is not allowed to remain there, but is sent back unharmed the way he had come.

Notwithstanding the numerous agreements in incident between the vision of William and the early forms of the legend, it is not possible to discover any immediate literary relationship between them. There are no verbal agreements whatever; and the incidents, though alike in general character, differ greatly in detail. One must see in the later vision a traditional version of the story, one modified in many directions by successive generations of narrators but still preserving many of the characteristics of the original tale. Several incidents of the story appear to be personal to the writer; for example, the complaint of William's sister and her lover to St. John and St. Ive, and the mention of William's uncle who was a parson. The whole story is indeed in the first person and it is not unlikely that such a person as William Staunton lived at the time and place that the narrative gives. Neither are the subjects of satire in the vision all merely traditional but reveal clearly certain conditions of the life of the times. Extravagance in dress was a frequent subject of complaint in the fifteenth century; another (as yet unpublished) vision of the time, that of Edmund Leverage, is directed chiefly against that folly. Other subjects of satire are the dilatoriness of executors in carrying out their commissions; false witnessing in courts of law; and the neglect of the clergy to care for their parishioners, for the services of the church, or even for the churches themselves.

These half-dozen visits that have been mentioned, that of Bonham and Ciffi in 1365, of Nicholas of Ferrara and Malatesta of Rimini in 1368, of Rathold in 1408, of Staunton in 1409, of John

Garhi, Francis Proly and John Burgesse in 1485, are undoubtedly but a few of the great number which were made in those years. Caxton,¹ writing about the year 1483, in his version of the *Golden Legend*, after a brief account of the Purgatory, adds a word of his own which shows the great popularity of the place: "As touchyng this pytte or hole, whyche is named saynt Patrykes purgatorye, somme holde opynyon that the second patryke whiche was an abbot *and* no bysshop, that god shewed to hym this place of purgatorye, but certeynly suche a place there is in yrelonde wherein many men haue been, and yet dayly goon in *and* come ageyn, *and* somme haue had there meruayllous vysions and seen grysly and horryble paynes, of whome there been bookes maad as of Tundale and other."

But with the close of the fifteenth century the glory of the Purgatory was forever departed. Doubtless the crowds of pilgrims who flocked thither were not as devout and restrained as their pious purpose demanded; and on the other hand, the short-sighted greed of the monks turned the Purgatory into a mere show-place by which thè revenues of their convent were to be increased. An illustrative instance of this is the visit of the monk of Eymstadt,² made in 1494. This monk, who lived at the monastery of Eymstadt in Holland, obtained permission from his head to go forth on travels as a mendicant and, among other places, he came to Ireland to visit the Purgatory. He first went to the prior of the Purgatory, who sent him to the bishop of the diocese for the necessary letter. The bishop demanded a customary stipend due him before he would give the letter; but on representation of his poverty he finally consented to give the monk the letter free of charge. The bishop sent the monk then to the prince who ruled the county in which the Purgatory was situated. The prince in turn demanded his poll-tax, but he also was forced to yield to the prayers of the poor monk. Arrived at the Purgatory with his letters, the monk had again to overcome the demand of the prior and his people for a contribution. He was finally put into the Purgatory. His experiences are given thus by the historian who records them (§ 50): "*Sedit igitur in lacu per totam noctem tremens*

¹ Caxton's *Golden Legend*, reprinted by William Morris, p. 422.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, Bollandist. March. Vol. II, the xviii day. §§ 48, 49 and 50.

et horrens; sed et ignitas preces Domino offerens, per singula pene momenta daemones adventuros horrescens. Cumque a vesperi sedisset usque ad mane, sole jam orto, venit sacrista ad orificium laci, advocans illum, et funem pro extractione illius submittens."

This monk, very much troubled at the default of the Purgatory, went to Rome, where he gained the ear of the Pope, Alexander VI. Alexander was angry that simple minded people should be so deceived and sent a command to the archbishop of Ireland, to the prince of the land in which the Purgatory lay, and to the prior of the Purgatory, ordering that it should be destroyed—"funditus everterent"—which was done and word of the accomplishment was carried back to the Pope.

That the Pope's command was executed is witnessed by an entry in the Annals of Ulster for the year 1497, given by Dr. Jones (p. 121): "The Denne of S. Patrickes Purgatory in *Lough-deerg* was in that yeare broken by the Guardian of Donnegall, and by some sent by the Bishop in the Deanrie of Loghearne by authoritie from the Pope upon S. Patrickes day in the sayd yeare. The people understanding out of the History of the Knight, and other ancient Bookes, that this was not the Purgatory which Patrickke had from God, although the people resorted from [sic] it."

Ware, in his *Antiquities and History of Ireland*,¹ under the same year, testifies to the same fact; his entry is also derived from the Annals of Ulster.

The cheap trickery of the place was discovered by another visitor of this period. Froissart (cf. Wright, p. 138 ff.) records a conversation he once held with Sir William Lisle on the subject of the Purgatory. Sir William declared that he and another knight had visited the Purgatory which he described as a hole like a cellar, with half a dozen stone steps leading down into it. He said that as they entered the hole, "a certayne hoote vapure rose agayne them and strake so into their heedes, that they were fayne to syt downe on the stares" (Berner's trans., Wright, p. 139). There they fell asleep and all the visions they had during the night were such as came to them in their troubled dreams.

One or two further illustrations will suffice to show the bad repute into which the Purgatory had come. Ponticus Virumnus

¹ *The Antiquities and History of Ireland* by the Right Honourable Sir James Ware, Knt. London 1705. *Annals of Ireland*, p. 36-7, year 1497.

in his *Britannicae Historiae*¹ tells of the visit of one Blasius Biragus to the Purgatory; Biragus says: "*est enim insula, ubi puteus per sex gradus in saxo descendit, non ut mythici canunt in foro; ego ingressus uidi omnia.*"

Erasmus² also, in *Adagia* (f. 82 b), under discussion of the proverb, *In antro Trophonii vaticinatus est*, has his fling at the Purgatory: "*Quae quidem Trophonii fabula mihi adeo uidetur similis ei quae de Patricii antro, quod est in Hybernia fertur, ut altera ex altera nata credi possit. Tametsi non desunt etiam hodie permulti qui descendunt, sed prius triduo enecti ieiunio, ne capite sano ingrediantur. Qui descendunt, aiunt sibi ridendi libidinem in omni vita ademptam.*"

Richard Stanihurst,³ the translator of Virgil, strives to cover over the later short-comings of the Purgatory with the mantle of its early greatness: "*Ad hanc Cauernam aetate Patricii, magna turba certatim confluit. Ab intrantibus multa mirabilia recitabantur, ex his nonnulla antiquitatis monumentis consignata sunt. Hic locus a nostratibus Purgatorium S. Patricii nominatur. Verum qui nostra memoria in hunc sese locum compingunt, nullum sibi terrorem iniici sentiunt, nisi forte eos arctior somnus complectatur. Sed in prima religionis constituta (quo tempore miracula ut plurimum crebriora sunt) veri quidem simile mihi videtur, quam plurima idola, truculenta et terribilia adspectu, solita fuisse poenitentibus ante oculos obuersari. Haec Spelunca ab exterarum gentium peregrinis summa iam olim religione frequentabatur*" (pp. 65-6).

When the legend of the Purgatory ceased to attract to it authors who wrote with the serious purposes of religion in mind, it became fit material for the acknowledged fabulist and story teller. It was introduced into an Italian romance⁴ of the end of the fifteenth

¹ Pontici Virunii viri doctissimi *Britannicae Historiae* libri vi. [Col.] Augustae Vindelicorum Anno a Christo nato. 1534.

² Erasmi Roterdami *Adagiorum Chiliades tres ac Centuriae fere totidem*. [Col.] Venetiis in Aedibus Aldi Mense Sept. MDVIII.

³ *De vita S. Patricii*. Libri II. Auctore Richardo Stanihvrsto Dvbliniensi. Antverpiae MDLXXXVII.

⁴ In questo libro Vulgarmente setrata alchuna ystoria breue del re Karlo Imperatore. Poi del nascimento e opere di quello magnifico cauallier nominato Guerino e prenominato Meschino. In Venexia. A di. xxii de Nouembre M. cccc. lxxvii. Lib. vi, Cap. clxii on f. cxviii is the account of the visit to Purgatory.

century, the hero of which is called Guerin il Meschino. This book was translated into French,¹ and there are numerous editions of both the Italian and the French version ; it was never translated into English. The story is a wild, fantastic one of the picaresque type, following Guerin in his wanderings throughout the world. Guerin is in search of his parents and the Pope bids him go to the Purgatory of St. Patrick for information concerning them. Guerin has various adventures on the way but finally comes to the archbishop, confesses to him and finally receives the keys of the Purgatory. He goes to the island and delivers his keys and letters to the prior, who in the usual way endeavors to dissuade him from entering. Finding Guerin steadfast, he gives him good counsel and conducting him to the cave gives him this prayer: *Ihesu Christi nazareno nel tuo nome saluum me fac* (f. cxx b). After entering, Guerin passes through a meadow until he comes to a church in the midst of it. Here two men in white meet him and give him good counsel. Immediately after these men leave, Guerin is led to the flames where are punished those guilty of sloth ; from these flames he is saved by his prayer. Then he is carried up into the air by devils who drop him when he repeats his prayer and he falls into the place where souls are punished for envy. Then follow in order the places where are punished pride, gluttony (in this place he found a king whom he had baptized), luxury, avarice (here he found another king whom he had known on earth), wrath, vain-glory, traitors and flatterers (here he saw many former friends, also Judas Iscariot and Amalech), misers (where he saw a giant he had killed in Tartary), defrauders, sodomites and many others. He finally reaches the foul river and the very narrow bridge. He crosses by grace of his prayer and is joyfully received into the land of the blessed ; Enoch and Helia (Elijah) conduct him to the Delectable Mountain. They show him the glory of Paradise where is the divinity and the nine orders of angels. At last he is led back to the church in the meadow by Enoch and Helia ; and there he learns that his father

¹ *La tres ioyeuse plaisante et recreative hystoire du tres preulx et vaillant cheualier Guerin par aduent nomme Mesquin . . . traduyct de vulgaire Italien en langue Francoyse. par honneste personne Jehan Decuchermoy, Lyon. [Col.] le xvi de Auril, Mil. ccccc. et xxx.*

and mother were of royal blood. When he comes out of the Purgatory, he is joyfully received by the prior to whom he tells all that had happened to him, and the prior puts it down in writing. Three days later Guerino took leave of the prior and continued his wanderings through the world. The story is a very fanciful adaptation of the legend; Wright says of it (p. 138): "The whole is, in fact, a palpable and poor imitation of Dante, built upon the legend of Henry of Saltrey."

The story of the Purgatory appears again in "*The Right, Pleasant, and Variable Tragical History of Fortunatus*,"¹ which was translated into English by T[homas] C[hurchyard] in 1676. This book is of much the same character as the story of Guerino. "Though," says the translator, "it be somewhat sawced and enterlaced with Poetical Imaginations," it contains sufficient matter to bring the mind to a recollection of the fickleness of Fortune, the reward of Virtue, the punishment of Vice and the end of Folly. It tells the story of Fortunatus of Cyprus, his journeys through the world and his vicissitudes of fortune, good and evil. It tells how Fortunatus once fell in with an aged Irishman, Leopoldus, and with him travelled to his home in Ireland. There they were not far from St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Fortunatus understanding that two days journey from thence was St. Patrick's Purgatory, he was very desirous to see the same. Whereupon they rode unto the City Vernecks, wherein is an Abby, and there behind the high Altar in the Church is a door, within the which is a deep, dark, Hole, the same do men call St. Patrick's Purgatory: but none may go into it without licence of the Abbot. Whereupon Leopoldus obtained leave of him, of whom he was demanded of what Country his Master was; he answered of the Isle of Cyprus: Whereupon the Abbot invited Fortunatus to Dinner, which pleased him well. So at his coming he presented the Abbot with a Vessel of the best Wine he could get. The Abbot yielded unto him great Thanks, for in that Country, they seldom use any Wine, except it be in Ministering the Sacrament" (p. 58). Fortunatus inquires about the Purgatory, and the abbot gives this account of it: "Many hundred Years sithence was this Town and this Abby a

¹ First Penned in the Dutch Tongue: There-hence Abstracted, and now first of all published in English, by T[homas] C[hurchyard] London 1676.

Desolate Wilderness, and not far from it dwelt an Abbot called Patrick, who was a very Devout Man. He oftentimes resorting to this Desart, to do some work of penance, one day by chance found this long and deep Hole, into the which he went so far that he could not return. With that he fell on his knees, praying unto God instantly, that (if it were his pleasure) he would deliver him out of that dark dungeon; whilst he thus devoutly prayed, it seemed to him that he heard yet further of a piteous cry. In the meanwhile suddenly he was delivered out of the Hole: Wherefore he joyfully Praising the Lord for his mercy, went again into the Cloister and became more devout than ever he was before. And so in perpetual memory of this chance, was this Abby builded by devout men. Fortunatus then asked farther what the Pilgrims reported that came thence out again. The Abbot said, I seldom enquire of them: but some say they have heard a pittiful screeking; others report they have neither seen nor heard anything at all, but that they have been sore afraid" (p. 59). Fortunatus declares his desire to enter the Purgatory and the abbot gives him leave, requesting him however not to venture too far in lest he be lost. Fortunatus and Leopoldus enter; but disregarding the abbot's warning they go astray in the many dark windings of the place. The abbot grows very anxious when the two men do not return at the right time: but "he remembered himself of an old Man who many years before had measured the Hole with a Cord." "The old man said, if they be yet alive, I shall sure bring them forth; and therewith prepared a musical instrument, played on it, and so passed from one hole to the other, until he had found them, being very feeble and faint; whom he willed to take hold of him, and so follow the sound of his Instrument, as the blind followeth his guide. So by the help of God, and the old mans assistance came they again to the light, whereof the Abbot was very glad: for he feared if those two Pilgrims had been lost, that no more would have resorted thither, whereby he and his Convent should fare the worse" (p. 61). Fortunatus calling his purse into requisition, gave the old man with the musical instrument a hundred crowns; and also prepared a great dinner of thanksgiving for his deliverance to which he invited the abbot and the brethren of the convent; as a farewell present he gave them five hundred

crowns "to the intent that they should pray for his prosperous success."

The Purgatory also receives notice in that most curious book, *The Delightful History of the Life and Death of That Renowned and Famous St. Patrick, Champion of Ireland. Containing his Heroick Actions and Valorous Atchievements in Europe, Asia and Affrick. With other Remarkable Passages from his Cradle to his Grave.* London, 1685. In this remarkable tale, St. Patrick is made a great hero of chivalric romance. He together with five other of the champions of Christendom was concealed and held in a great cave by a wicked sorceress, named Kalib. From this condition they were relieved by the seventh champion, St. George of England. After his release, Patrick, with his one servant, Mack, wandered all over the world in search of adventure, returning finally to die in peace at home. Among his various exploits were the relief of the distressed damsel Clymena; the destruction of the monstrous giant Cambagor; the killing of a huge whale by casting a stone at it; the relief of a beauteous young lady whose chastity a monstrous satyr with two heads was attempting; a fight with the huge Tartar Bembo, and Bembo's brother, Alphebo; and many more similar adventures. In the first chapter of the book the author gives an account of the birth and early life of Patrick, all in the grandiloquent style of the romance, but in the main following accepted traditions. Here he gives an account of the Purgatory (p. 7): "As *Patrick* followed this course of Life, many there were who with a perverse mind opposed his Doctrine, others as it were haulting betwixt two opinions, not knowing which to follow, greatly desiring of the Holy Man, that he would shew them some Visible Sign of these Joyes of Heaven, and Torments of Hell, which he Preached; he hearing this, did withdraw himself for a little space, and having applyed himself to God, he earnestly besought him that for once he would condescend to their request. The Almighty was not Deaf to his Prayers, by whose inspiration he went towards the South parts of Ireland, there in a desolate place he found a Cave; into which, if any did enter, there seemed to appear to them most horrible Apparitions in divers and fearful shapes." Then follows a citation of Giraldus Cambrensis' account of the Purgatory. After this brief chapter

the book breaks entirely free from Patrician tradition and runs riot in the wildest of wild romancing.¹

Unfortunately, however, the later history of the legend does not end in mere fable. The Purgatory continued still to have a life of its own which appears to have been a troublesome thorn in the flesh to the Protestant clergy of Ireland. For the religious enthusiasm of the people, perhaps strengthened by opposition, made it such a popular place of pious resort, that it was finally deemed necessary again to destroy it; and on September 13, 1632, the Lords Justices of Ireland issued a letter ordering that all the pious machinery of the island of whatever sort should 'be broken down, defaced and utterly demolished' (Jones, p. 130). This work of destruction was entrusted to the bishop of Clogher, whose report to the archbishop of Armagh, dated October 31, 1632, is still preserved (Jones, p. 133). The account of the Cave, taken from the bishop's report, is as follows: "The first thing I searched diligently after, was the Cave; . . . I caused to digge about it on all sides,

¹ Another curiosity of the Purgatory literature that well deserves mention is a Latin metrical translation of the legend. The title page consists of a dedication which reads as follows: *Ad Illustrem Eberhardum ducem in wirttemberg et decke Comitem Montispelegardi Carmen de purgatorio divi Patricii*. [Col.] *Impressum Memmingen*. The booklet consists of 6 ff. in 8°. No date is given but the date can be very easily established from the fact that Eberhard was raised to the rank of Duke of Würtemberg by Emperor Maximilian in 1495, and died in 1496. On f. 1 b there is an introduction and dedication from the author, "*Burckardus de horneck Artium et medicinæ professor*" to "*Eberhardo duci in Wirttemberg et decke Comiti in mümpelgarten etc.*" Eberhard was a patron of letters and learning in his time, the founder of the University at Tübingen and a defender of the scholar, Reuchlin. The author of this Latin poem was doubtless one of his many dependents. In the introduction the author appears to state that there was a version of the deeds of Patrick in German which it was his intention to turn into Latin: *Hoc carmen de divi Patricii gestis, quod proximis diebus ex nostra lingua vernandam in latinum, sub carminis lege transferre temptavi*.

The poem tells first of the occasion of the founding of the Purgatory and then of a knight "*cuius oblitio nomen Tenet*" (f. 2 b) who visited the place as a penance for his sins. The descriptions of the torments are much abbreviated though they follow the order of the original accounts closely. The description of the bridge is on f. 5 b. The account of the Earthly Paradise is very brief; the poem closes thus with the sending of the knight back to earth (f. 6 b):

*gracilis atque vultu
Nec militem porta custos emittit eburna
Sed vera juvenis missus abibat inde.*

till I came to the Rocke, but found no appearance of any secret passage, eyther to the *Chappell* or to the *Lough*: neyther would the nature of the ground suffer it, in a word this *Cave* was a poor beggarly hole, made with some stones, layd together with mens hands without any great Art: and after covered with Earth, such as husbandmen make to keep a few Hogs from the raine." Dr. Jones also describes the cave as it appeared to him a few years before its destruction: "On the *North-side* of the *Church*, and from it ten foot distant, appeared that whence the *Island* hath the name, *S. Patrick's Cave*, *Pit*, or *Purgatory*, for by all these names it is knowne. . . . The *entrance* was without any or very little descending; the *walls* thereof being built of ordinary stone, the *tops* covered with broad stone, and over-laid with earth, being over-growne with grasse: It was *two foot and one Inch wide* in most places, and *three foot high*, so that they are enforced to stoope that goe into it, the *length was sixteene foot and one halfe*, whereof right forward twelve foot, and the *reverse*; or turning toward the *Church*, *four foot and one halfe*. At the corner of said turning there was a little *Crevice*, which as it served to convey a little (and that but a very little) *light* into the *Cave*, so served it for two other uses; the one, that, *The spirituall Father resorting thither might comfort those who are shut in, especially if he understand that any of them be troubled with any temptation*. The other, that *He might take his place there, who among them that are shut in, is appointed to repeat the Canonicall houres*" (p. 5).

Pilgrims were introduced into the Cave not promiscuously, but men and women separately. The loss of time caused by this division was made up (p. 6) by erection of another Purgatory, so that there was one for men and one for women. But the new one did not meet with popular favor and was soon given up.

The whole pilgrimage required nine days. The first eight were spent in penance and prayer. The penance consisted chiefly in walking and in crawling on the knees over the sharp, jagged rocks with which the island was strewn. Nine persons set out on the pilgrimage together. On the evening of the eighth day they confessed and the priest in recollection of the old custom, then attempted to dissuade them from their purpose. On their insisting they were put into the Purgatory. "Lastly, when the 24 houres

are expired, for now are we come to the last Act, they are revisited by the over-seer of the pilgrimes, by whom they are brought to the water-side where they duck themselves over head in that water, by which expiation being purged as new Souldiers of Christ, and by the bath of repentance being borne againe, they goe into the church, where according to the custom they give God thanks for the ending of their penance, being thereby renewed to goe forward boldly in their Christian warfare, and courageously to carrie the Crosse of Christ. And thus is this great work finished" (Jones, p. 14).¹

Ware² also records this destruction of the Purgatory, though he is mistaken in placing it under the year 1630: "The Lords-Justices caused St. Patricks Purgatory, a small island in the County of Donegal to be digged up, to the disgrace and loss of the Popish Clergy."

From this second overturning the Purgatory again recovered. The place was rebuilt and pilgrimages were made to it with as much enthusiasm as ever before. Government intervention again became necessary, and in the second year of Queen Anne (1704) pilgrimage in general was prohibited in Ireland and this pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory in particular. A fine of ten shillings was ordered to be laid on those found making the pilgrimage, and if they could not pay the fine, a public whipping was to be administered instead.

Yet even this third attempt to destroy the Purgatory was no more successful than the preceding ones had been. The Purgatory

¹ The truth of Dr. Jones' representation is proved by the fact that it is in substantial agreement with other contemporary accounts written from a more sympathetic point of view. Cf. *Teatro delle Glorie e Purgatorio de' viventi del gran Patriarca, ed Apostolo dell' Ibernia, S. Patricio*. Descritti dal Priore di S. Vittore, D. Celso Faleoni, Bolognese. In Bologna, 1657. The author gives an account of the ceremonies observed at the Purgatory at the time of his writing which is in close agreement with Dr. Jones' account.

Cf. also the following very rare little volume: *In nomine Jesu Opusculum de Purgatorio Sancti Patritii*. Scriptum per R. P. F. Dominicum Brullaughan. Lovanii [1735, the date of license and approbation]. The author was prior of the Irish college at Louvain. The book is in Latin, in eleven articles or chapters. It tells the common rites of the Purgatory at the time of its composition, the saints' beds, the confessions, etc., and gives a scriptural explanation of the meaning of each ceremony.

² *Gesta Hibernorum*, p. 178.

continued to be a place of frequent resort. A number of essays written by Protestant clergymen in the eighteenth century show clearly that the popularity of the place was beyond the reach of government or church. The Rev. Mr. Hewson,¹ archdeacon of Armagh, describes the place as he found it in 1701. It was much as it was in Dr. Jones' day, except that the number of caves had increased to three. He describes them thus: "These Coves, that is Caves, are like long coarse built Ovens, above Ground about four Foot high and wide, but of different lengths, having each a small Spike-hole on one side. The Pilgrims being thrust into which, the Entrances are closed up with Stones and Dirt, and there they sit starving for twenty four Hours without Meat, not having leave to Answer Nature, or any Refreshment except *Tobacco* and Water, which they receive as they do all the Light and Air they have at the Spike-holes. But above all Things avoiding Sleep, the *Priest* telling them, the Devil will carry them away, (as he has done two Cave-fulls already) if he catch them napping" (p. 133).

In 1727 John Richardson,² rector of the parish of Belturbet in Dublin, published a book directed against pilgrimage in general in Ireland and especially against that to St. Patrick's Purgatory "because it hath most Votaries, and is the most remarkable in the Kingdom, or perhaps in the whole World, for Superstition and Idolatry" (Preface to *The Great Folly*, etc.). Richardson has little to add to Jones' and Hewson's account of the place. He gives a map of the lake and the islands in it, and says of the island of the Purgatory: "There was a Convent of Canons Regular of the Order of St. *Augustin*, subject to the Monastery of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* at Armagh, erected in it, and a fine chappel and convenient houses built for the Monks, over whom a Prior presided, and two of them were usually chosen

¹ *A Description of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough-Derg; and an Account of the Pilgrims Business there.* By the Rev. Mr. Hewson, Rector of the Parish of St. Andrew's, Dublin; and afterwards Archdeacon of Armagh. Dublin, 1727. This account is added by Richardson to his work, though it is signed and dated by Hewson, August 1, 1701.

² *The great Folly, Superstition and Idolatry of Pilgrimages in Ireland; especially of that to St. Patrick's Purgatory.* Together with an account of the Loss that the Publick sustained thereby; truly and impartially Represented. By John Richardson, Rector of the Parish of Belturbet, alias Annah. Dublin 1727.

to receive and instruct the *Pilgrims*. The Remains of these Buildings are still to be seen. It is said that the Passage into Purgatory was first found in this Island; but it being near the Shore and a Bridge from the main Land into it, which gave the People free and ready Access, this Passage into Purgatory was Stopped up, and another opened in a less Island about half a Mile from the Shore, by which Means the Monks wisely gained two Points, viz. the Profit of a Ferry-Boat for wafting the Pilgrims over the Lake, and an Opportunity of working farther upon the Imaginations of the People, and making them believe, that they were really going into another World" (pp. 4-5).

Still another description is given by the Rev. Philip Skelton,¹ Prebendary of Donacavy in the Cathedral of Clogher, in a letter addressed to the bishop of Clogher. The description differs but little from that given by Jones and Hewson, though it is much briefer.

One or two further citations will suffice to bring the long story of the Purgatory down to the present day. Several descriptions of the place and of its ceremonies as they exist in the present century have been made. One by William Carleton² and another by C[aesar] O[tway]³ are given in fullest detail. The customs and the appearance of the place as described are but little different from the descriptions of two hundred years previous. The same crowds of pilgrims continue to visit the island, going through practically the same rites of penance. The island itself is the same desolate, gloomy place that it is described as being in the early days of its fame. Says Otway: "A person who had never seen the picture that was now under my eye—who had read of a place consecrated by the devotion of ages, towards which the tide of human superstition had flowed for twelve centuries, might imagine that St. Patrick's purgatory, secluded in its sacred island, would have all the venerable and gothic accompaniments of olden time; and its ivied towers and belfried steeples—its carved windows and cloistered

¹ *The Complete Works of the late Rev. Philip Skelton.* Ed. by Rev. Robt., Lynam, M. A. London, 1824. Vol. v, pp. 15-20.

² *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* by William Carleton. London, Ward, Lock and Co. Pp. 62-96, The Lough Derg Pilgrim.

³ *Sketches in Ireland.* C[aesar] O[tway]. MDCCCXXVII. P. 149 ff.

arches, its long dark aisles and fretted vaults would have risen out of the water, rivalling Iona or Lindisfarn; but nothing of the sort was to be seen: the island about half a mile from shore presented nothing but a collection of hideous slated houses and cabins, which give you an idea that they were rather erected for the recent purpose of toll houses or police stations, than anything else—and true it is, they were nothing else but toll houses which priest craft had erected to tax its deluded victims” (pp. 149–50).

We may conclude with just a word from a somewhat different point of view. The Rev. Matthew Kelly,¹ who also has visited the Purgatory in modern times, quotes with approval the opinion that there is no severer penance in the world than that at Lough Derg: “*Opera exercent poenitentia quibus similia fieri non crediderim in quovis alio peregrinationis loco universi orbis*” (Vol. I, p. 153, note). The popularity of the pilgrimage he makes evident by the citation of the vast number of pilgrims who annually make it: “At Lough Derg the station continues from June first to August fifteenth. From the middle of July to the close, the average number on the island each day is twelve or fourteen hundred. The boatman pays the landlord of the place two or three hundred pounds a year, which is levied off the pilgrims” (Vol. I, p. 155, note). And the rites of the place, the author tells us are substantially the same as they were three centuries previous: “The order of penance in the sixteenth century, was substantially the same as at the present day. The island, as has already been observed, is still, and probably will continue as long as Catholicity remains in Ireland, a favorite place of retreat, though the mediæval narratives of miraculous visions of the other world be forgotten” (Vol. I, p. 153, note).

¹ In his edition of *Cambrensis Eversus seu Potius Historica Fides in Rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi Abrögata*. Gratianus Lucius, Hibernus. Impress. An. MDCLXII. Ed. by Rev. Matthew Kelly. Dublin, 1848.

THE VISION OF WILLIAM STAUNTON.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE MSS.: There are two MSS. of the vision of William Staunton. The first, B. M. Royal 17 B XLIII, from which my text has been taken, is described by Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 484, as follows: "Vellum; XV Cent. Quarto; ff. 16, having 23 to 27 lines to a page. With two colored initials. Preceded by a rude colored drawing of a sainted Bishop in the act of benediction, surrounded by Fiends and by Souls in torment" (f. 132 b). The second ms., B. M. Addit. 34, 193, is described by Ward (as above, p. 487): "Vellum; late XVth. cent. Folio; ff. 10, in double columns of 33 to 34 lines."

In the volume in which it is contained, the Royal ms. extends from f. 133 a to f. 148 b. The Additional ms. account appears to have been written on the occasional blank leaves of a volume after the volume had been partially filled. It begins on f. 99 a, col. 2, and the first section extends to f. 100 b, col. 2. At the foot of the second column, in the same hand as the body of the ms., is written the direction, *The VI leffe*. The second section accordingly begins f. 106 a, col. 1; it is a short section extending only to f. 106 b, col. 2. At the foot of f. 106, the direction reads, *The XIIIth leffe*. The third section begins f. 119 b, col. 1; it extends to f. 125 b, col. 2. The direction at the foot of this column reads, *The leffe be for þe kalender*. As the volume now stands, it contains no calendar, and apparently no leaf before it, for the conclusion of the Vision is also wanting. The missing portion is not more than the ten or a dozen concluding lines. The passage in the Royal ms. corresponding to the one with which the Addit. ms. closes, is on f. 148 a. The Addit. ms. is also deficient (not noticed by Ward,

Vol. II, p. 487, in his analysis of the contents of the MS.) at f. 123 a, col. 2; there is no indication of a lacuna in the text, which runs on without interruption. The section in the Royal MS. corresponding to the omitted part of the Addit. MS. is found on f. 142 b. In general the Addit. MS. is less carefully written than the Royal; there are occasional omissions and repetitions, and a greater number of corrupt passages.

RELATION OF MSS. TO ORIGINAL: Both of the MSS. bear the unmistakable marks of copies. The Addit. MS., though, as has been stated, it is carelessly written, appears in some respects to give a more faithful representation of the original than does the Royal MS. In the first place, the account is more consistent. William, who in both MSS. is said to have been born in the bishopric of Durham, is given in the Royal MS. the surname Staunton; but in the Addit. MS. he is called William of Stranton. Stranton is a township and parish of Durham, lying along the coast. In the Addit. account, the story tells how William was met in the Purgatory by John of Bridlington and Hilda of Whitby. Bridlington or Burlington is a sea-port town and parish in the E. R., Yorkshire, about thirty miles N. E. of Hull. St. John lies buried here in the priory church. And Whitby, not far from Stranton, or Bridlington, was of course a well known place in Yorkshire. The remark then of John of Bridlington to William, in the Addit. MS., is not improbable: "*Thow hast often cum to me where my body lyes and to my suster Sant hylde*" (f. 100 a). In the Royal MS. the two persons who came to William are John of Bridlington and St. Ive of "Quitike." "Quitike" is Quethiock, a parish in Cornwall on the rivers Lynher and Tidy; St. Ive is supposed to have been an early missionary to this place. It is hardly possible that William could have often visited the shrine of St. John in North England and also that of St. Ive of Quethiock in Cornwall. Undoubtedly the Southern scribe (the Royal MS. is in the Southern dialect), for the sake of local color, or in order to honor a home saint, has substituted St. Ive for St. Hilda. Further, Stranton, the name of William's home, a place unknown to the Southern scribe, was changed to Staunton, the place name becoming the sur-name.

The Addit. ms. is apparently truer to the original than the Royal in another detail. In the Royal ms. William says he was placed in the Purgatory by the "*prior of seint Mathew of þe same purgatorie*" (f. 133 a). The Addit. ms. reads: "*I was putt in by þe Prior Matheus keper of the same purgatory*" (f. 99 b, col. 1). Now we know from the vision of Rathold (cf. above, p. 35) that the prior of the Purgatory in 1408 was named Matthew; and the correct reading here is undoubtedly that of the Addit. ms.

In two instances it seems probable that the original is more faithfully preserved in the Royal account. First, the prayer in the Addit. ms. is shorter than that in the Royal ms.; the longer form is the one that was generally current. The prayer in the vision of Rathold, of Raymond, and of Luis Enius is exactly the same as that in the Royal ms. Again, the Addit. ms. states that the Purgatory was situated in the bishopric of Jalcet in Ireland; all traditions agree with the Royal ms., that the Purgatory was situated in the bishopric of Clogher (Cleghire).

There is only one other difference in point of fact between the two MSS. In the Addit. ms. it is said that William entered the Purgatory "*on Ester day the VIIIth oure before none*" (f. 99 a). The Royal ms. reads: "*þe VIIIth oure bi fore þe none on the friday next after holyrode day in harvest*" (f. 133 a). The letter of safe conduct given by Richard II to Raymond was dated Sept. 7, 1397. Perhaps the similarity of the prayer as found in the Royal ms. of the vision of William and in the account of Raymond may point to some dependence of the date as given in the vision of William, the Friday after Sept. 14, on that given in Raymond. The other details of the vision of Raymond do not, however, bear this out.

In other respects the MSS. are in substantial agreement. The Addit. ms. appears to treat its original somewhat freely at times—especially in dialogue passages. But the order of incidents is the same in both MSS. The differences of phraseology, orthography, etc., are such as would naturally arise in two independent transcriptions of a single ms.

PLACES, NAMES, ETC., IN THE MSS.: The places referred to in in the MSS. have perhaps been sufficiently discussed; they are Durham, Stranton, Bridlington, Whitby, Quethiock, Cleghire, Jalcet.

But a word or two on the persons named will be necessary. It is of course impossible to find out more about William than the story itself gives; it is not to be doubted, however, that the hero of the story was a real person. Mention is made of William's sister, his sister's lover, and his uncle; but the names of none of these are given. William also sees some of his friends in the Purgatory, but they are not distinguished by names.

John of Bridlington was a popular saint in Yorkshire at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. He was made prior of Bridlington in 1366 and died as prior Oct. 10, 1379 (cf. *History of the Priory Church of Bridlington*, by the Rev. Marmaduke Prickett, Cambridge, 1835. Appendix, p. 85). "So great was the opinion of his sanctity, that he was canonized as a saint after death, by order of the Pope, according to the superstitious habits of the age. The Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, performed the ceremony of the translation of his relics to a magnificent shrine in the chapel behind the high altar of the Priory Church. Hither there was a numerous resort of pilgrims, and many miracles were reported to be wrought at his tomb" (Prickett, p. 25). Bale (quoted by Prickett, p. 89) records the tradition that John had the gift of seeing visions: "*Ferunt etiam de eo, quod ex frequenti et assidua divinarum rerum contemplatione mirabiles habuerit visiones. Sed haec in medium ad praesens relinquo, cum suspecta semper habeam talia monachorum spectra.*"

There is preserved in Rymer (*Foedera*, Tom. VIII, p. 161) a letter of safe conduct, dated October 4, 1400, which was given by Henry IV to John Gysborn, prior of Bridlington, granting him free passage to Rome on business connected with the canonization of John of Bridlington. It is evident, therefore, that John of Bridlington was a popular and prominent saint in Yorkshire at the time the vision of William was written; it was but natural that he should be chosen as one of the guides through Purgatory.

The cult of St. Hilda was of course, in the fifteenth century, a long established one. St. Hilda became abbess of Hartlepool in 649, founded the famous monastery at Streaneshalh, now Whitby, in 658, and died in the year 680. In that day of pilgrimages, the shrine of St. Hilda must have been a place of frequent resort for the religious of the north of England.

St. Ive or St. Ives, a saint whose history is not so well known as that of St. Hilda, was probably an Irish missionary who came to St. Ives bay in Cornwall about the year 500 (cf. *A History of the Parishes of Saint Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor, in the County of Cornwall*. By John Hobson Matthews, London, 1892, pp. 28-9). She was one of the followers of St. Patrick, it is supposed. Her name is usually spelled Ia, Ye, or Ya. She has a day which is locally celebrated on the 3rd of February. The present church at St. Ives was built between the years 1410 and 1426 (Matthews, p. 58). It may be that in connection with the building of the church there was a revival of interest in the saint herself, whose name was thus naturally used by the vision writer of 1409.

The one other name of the ms., Matthew, prior of the Purgatory, has already been sufficiently discussed (above, p. 56). We know from the letters preserved in Dr. Jones' Treatise (cf. above, p. 32 ff.) that the prior of the Purgatory at this time still demanded the formal letter of permission to visit the Purgatory.

For an analysis and discussion of the contents of the ms., cf. above, p. 35 ff. No attempt has been made to normalize the text, except partially in capitalization and punctuation. Corrupt passages are always explained by comparison with the Addit. ms.

II.

TEXT.

[B. M. ms. Royal 17 B. XLIII. f. 133.]

Here begynneth þe reuelacion the which William Stavnton saw in Patrik is purgatorie the friday next after the fest of þe exaltacion of þe crosse in þe yere of owre lord ¹M. CCC. ^{mo}IX.

Y William Stavnton born in þe bisshopryche of Dereham of englond, bi goddes grace entred in to þe purgatorie of saint Patrik in the bisshopriche of Cleghire in Irlande þe VIII owre bi fore þe none on the friday next after holyrode day in harvest. I was put in by þe prior of saint Mathew of þe same purgatorie with precession and devougte prayers of þe same priour; and þe Covent toke

me an orison to blesse me *with* and to write þe first worde in forehede, þe which prayer is this: *Ihesu Christe fili dei viui misereri michi peccatori*;¹ And þe priour taught me to say this prayer when ony sprit good or evel appered vn to me or when y herd ony noyse þat y shuld be a fered of, if þei were good sprites or evel. If þei were good spritis, þei wold a byde stil *with* me; if þei were evil, þei shuld voyde and þe ferful noyse cese. And after þat by the techyng of þe priour I cam to a restyng place of Seint patrik in þe whiche [he abode the reuelacion of goddes angellis when he passed þat way in his tyme/ and there y abode and sumwhat slumbered and slepte/ And after y was ware of a litel light afer as it had be the dayng of þe day/ and me thought y sawe a man and a woman boþe cladde in white/ the man in a chanons is abite and þe woman in the same abite *with* a vayle on hir hede as a nonne/ And when y saw hem first y, dredyng sumwhat, said my prayer and marked my forhede as the priour taught me; þan thei laughed and said, "god spede;" and þan y was sumwhat reioysed/ and y said, "þe spede of god be welcome vnto me"/ And þat man said vnto me, "William, thow art welcome and þow hast take on hond a grete þyng; but bi the mercy of god þow shalt wel do and welfare. And here fast by þow shalt fynde .ii. waies, on on thi righond a nother on þi leftehonde. The way on thi right honde is faire and² brode and thi way in the liftehond is more and sumdel fowle in the bigynneng, and it is faire and clene to sight; but leve þe way on þe lefthond and take þe wai on þe righthond.³ But thow shalt fynd men in þi righthond

¹ [*Addit. MS., f. 99 a, col. 2*: Here begynnes the boke of Wyllyam of Stranton the weche berys wyttenes of sothefastenes and of alle ferdfulle Juges, the which he herde and saw when he was in patrike purgatory. In the gere of owre lorde m cccc and vi. In the name of Gode, Amen. I Wyllyam of Stranton borne in the bysschopprike of Dorham in ynglonde, [*marginal gloss in later hand*, Durham in England] thorht goddys grace enterde in to purgatory of saynt Patrike in the bysschopprike (f. 99 b, col. 1) off Jalcet in Irelande on Ester day the viiith owre before none. And I was putt in by þe Prior Matheus keper of the same purgatory with procession and devote prayers of the same Prior and Covente, the wheche techyd me on orison to blysse me wythe And to wrytte the fyrst worde in my forhede weche is thys: *Jhesu fili dei misereri mei*. ² [*MS.*: And and. ³ [*Addit. MS., f. 99 b*: The way on the ryght hande is narrow and sumdele fowle in the begynnyng. And þe way on þe lefte hand is fayre and clene in syght. Bott leve þat way and take þe way on þe ryght hand.

F. 134.

þe whiche shul lete þe to passe by here power, þe whiche men shullen be liche in shape *and* colour to men of thi owne contree þat ben levying; but þei ben evel spirites of which þow shalt be evel aferd/ *and* þerfore haue þow in thi mynde þe passion of owre lord ihesu [crist *and* sai þi praier *and* thei shul voide *and* be knowe to the suche as thei be. And afterward þou shalt see *and* here more grisly sightes *and* evel spirites of the whiche þou shalt be sore adradde; but haue in mynd as y said þe of owre lordes possion¹ *and* þai shal do the none harm." Thanne y William said, "if it myght be plesyng to god *and* to þe for to haue knowlage of þe þat so moche kindenesse haue shewid to me, *and* y require þe for þe love of owre lord ihesu criste if it be thi wil." Thanne he saide, "y wil gladly þat þow wete. I am cleped in northcontree Iohn of Bridlyngton, *and* so y am; *and* þis woman is seint Ive, my suster þat woned in Quitike."² And I said, "a, worshipful lorde *and* holy fader, worship mote þou be in heven *and* in erthe þat daynethe not to come to so synful a man þat so mykell nede hathe *and* is ynne." And than he said, "þou hast often tymes comen to me whare my body ligheth *and* to my suster here seint Eve, more disesyng þe þan owre comyng dothe vs." And with þat he blissid me with his hond *and* went his way. And I William roos me vp *and* went in folowyng þe same way þat þei passed/ And sone after y come to þe waies þat he spak to me of *and* fond in the way on þe right hond as seint John had said, diuers men bi sight apperand to me þe whiche leveden as by shap in the world *and* as bi colour of them. And þai said to me, "wheder wilt þow go."

F. 134 b.

And I said, "the way þat ye stonde in [I shal go bi the help of owre lord ihesu crist." Than þei said, "this way thou shalt not go; for knowe vs well, we be thi frendes *and* none evel spirites the whiche be sent heder bi god to teche þe righte way so þat þow shalt not be perissid"/ And þan I said to them, Serteyn þat y wold go bi þem, *and* þei said to me ageyn, "þow shalt not passe this way, for þow wilt spil thi self. We wil no suffre the, for þou knowest wel þat we be thi frendes which loue þe *and* þerfore we be sent heder bi god to teche þe the right way so þat þow shalt not

¹ [Addit. MS.: passyon. ² [Addit. MS., f. 100 a: In yor contre they call me John of Bredlyngton *and* so I am. *And* thys woman is my sister Sant Hyld of whythy that wonnyde þer in sum tyme.

be pershid"/ And þan I said to hem certayn yat y wold go bi the help of owre lord ihesu crist; and thei saiden to me agen, "þou shalt not passen þis way, for þow wilt spillyn þi self; we wil not suffre the for thow knowest wel we be thi frendes þe whiche louen þe and therefore we ben send heder"/ Than y had mynde on þe passion of owre lord ihesu crist and marked me in the forhede with my praier þat was tawght me by fore. And sodenly þilk folk sodenly vaneshid fro me/ And þan appered to me evel spirites; but tho y was more sekerer þan y was before, for þo wist y wel þat my praier was of vertu. And than y went forthe þat way/ and sone ther appered to me many fereful and horrible spirites of the which y was moche afered and dred. And summe of þo spirites had .iiii. visages, summe with .vii. hornes and summe with .v.; summe had a visage in euery elbowe, [summe on every kne. And þei maden to me an hudious noyse with creyes and with bleryng owt of here brennyng tanges and other many noyses mo þan I can tell, for y was so aferd þat y hadde no mynde on god ne on my praier ne on none other thinge þat shuld me help but only on þat noyse, and so y was neghe in point of perishyng/ Then cam þat blisful Virgyn seint Ive and [seyd]¹ to me, "þou madman, haue mynde in thi hert of þe passion of owre lord ihesu crist, goddessone of heuene, and mark þe with þi praier"/ And þan I said, "ihesu crist, goddissonne of heuene, for thi passion þat bowghtest me and all sinfull on erthe with þi precious blode, haue mercy on my sinful bodi and graunte me grace so to do þat is most plesyng to the and sauacion to my bodi and sowle." And tho y markid me with my praier and al þe evel spirites vaneshid fro my sight/ þan I was right glad and thongkid god and hild forþe my way. And so y passid forthe without sight of ony spiretes goode or evel to þe space of a myle; and þan y mette with seint John, and seint Ive and a suster of myne þat was dede long tofore in a pestilence tyme, and a nothir man which I knewe well þat my suster loved wel whiles thei leved in this world. And þan I honowred seint Iohn and seint Ive, and seint Iohn said to me þan, "þow were evel agast [of other spirites"/ And I said, "so y was; blessid be god and owre ladi þat y am comen to yow ageyn." þan he saide, "þou

¹ [Addit. MS., f. 100 b: And she seyde unto me, etc.

haddest evell mynde on þe passion of owre lord ihesu crist and on thi praier, for þow art not stedefast on þi beleve and also to simpell to make¹ such a viage on honde, sayng only þe merci of god." And whan he had þus said to me my suster spake *and* said, "holy, ye be here in goddis stede/ And y make my complaint to yow on my brother þat here stondeþe, þat he hathe synned in holy chirche agen god; for þis man þat stondeþe here loued me and y loved him and ether of vs wold haue had other in þe law of god, as holy chirche techethe, and shuld haue geten on me. iii. sowles to god. And my brother lettid vs to go togeder ffor he said and we didden we shuld nothir haue ioye of other and for þat cause we lefte hit"/ Tho seint Iohn said, "whi diddest þou þis trespas agen god *and* thi owne sowle? ffor y tel the þer nys no man þat letteth man or woman to go togeder in the bond of god, þow the man be a sheperd and all his auncestres and the woman be comyn of kingis or of emperours; Or if þe man be comyn of never so high kynne and þe woman of never so lowe kynne, if þei loue other otheir, he synneth in holy chirche agenst god and his cristendome indede, in þat² he letteth hem, whoever he be/ And þerfore shall haue moche payn *and* tribulacion, But he come to amendement. For [þat synne greveth god gretelich and þou was never shreven therof ne diddest never penaunce þerfore; but it comyn into þi mynde þou haddest shreven þe þerof and y take þe penaunce þerfore/ And therfore hath graunted the owre lord ihesu crist [grace] bi þe praier of seint patrik; so þat when þow comest to the worlde agayn shryve the to þe priour of þis purgatorie and what penaunce þat he gefeth the, se þat it be done mekely/ And loke, for if þow haddest shryve þe þerfore and forȝete þi penaunce vndo þerfore þat þe prest had yeve the, þow shuldest haue had penaunce þerfore here er þou haddest hens passed." ³ And y lokyd after my suster and she and þat man þat come with hir were vaneshid away owt of my sight.

¹[*Addit. MS.*, f. 106 a: And ouer symul to take suche a vyage on hande.

²[*MS.* þat at. ³[*Addit. MS.*, f. 106 b: Neuertheles and hytt hade cummyn to þy mynde, þu had bene schrevyn þerof and done penance þerfor. And þerfor oure lorde Jhesu criste hath grantyd þe grace thouroo þe prayer off sant patrike. Soo þat when þu cummyste to þe worlde, schryfe þe to be Prior of þe purgatory, and what penance he iniones þe þerfor, lowke þat hytt be done; for yf þu hade bene schrevyn þerof and forgetyn þe penance þat þe pryst gaffe þe therfor, therfor vndone, þu schulde þer fore haue hade thy penance here or þu hade hense passyde.

Nota.

F. 136.

And þan seint Iohn said to me, "William, seist þou þe yender fier fer fro þe?" And y said, "y se yender a smoke þat is like a fire to be þere." And seint Iohn said, "þo yender is a grete fire *and* styngkyng and certeyn were it possible þat all þe people in þe world, men, women *and* children felden þe smyche of yender fire, þei shuld not endure so long with hire lifes as a man shuld turne his honde vp and downe; þerfore go we bi twene þe fire *and* þe wynde and loke wel what þou seist þeryn." And þan, I went so nyghe þat y myght know what maner of paynes were þeryn; and þere y saw þilk fire brynneng diuerse men and women and summe þat y knew when þei leuid in þe world, [as it appered there to my sight. I saw summe there *with* colors of gold abowte here neckis and sum of siluer; and summe men y saw *with* gay girdels of siluer and gold *and* harneist hornes abowte here neckes; summe *with* mo iagges on here clothis þan hole clothe; sum hire clothis ful of gyngeles and belles of siluer al over sette; and summe *with* long pokes on hire sleues/ And women *with* gownes trayleng bi hinde hem a moche space; and summe other *with* gay chapeletes on hir hedes of gold and perles and other precious stones/ And þan I loked on him þat y saw first in payn and saw the colers and the gay girdels and bawderikes brennyng and the fendes drayng hem bi . ii . fynggermele¹ and more *with* thynne here flesshe, al brynneng as fire; and y saw þe iagges þat men were clothed ynne turne al to addres, to dragons and to todes and many other horrible bestes, sowkyng hem and bityng hem and styngyng hem *with* al here myght; and thorowout euery gyngels I saw fendes smyte brennyng nayles of fire in to here flessch. I saw also fendes drawyng down þe skynne of here shulders like to pokes and kitting hem of and drawyng hem to þe hedes of whom þai cut þem fro, al brynneng as fire. And þo I saw þe women þat had side trayles bi hinde hem and þo side trayles cut of with fendes and ybrent on here hedes; and summe toke of [þe cuttyng all brennyng and stopped *perwith* here mowpis, hire noses and hire eres. I saw also hire gay chapeletes of gold, of perlous and other precious stones yturned into nailes of yren brennyng and fendes *with* brennyng hamers smytyng hem into hire hedes. And þan seint Iohn said vnto

¹ [Addit. MS., f. 119 b: drawyngne them a hand brede *and* more *with* in þer flessche.

me, "Tho yender men thei disworship god with hire pride of hert and of aray, takyng more hede to þe bodi for þe vanite of þe world and of þe nyse vsage þat is hadden þerynne þan þei had nede of; ffor eueryche man owght to plesse his god with mekenesse of hert and of body acordaunt þerwith. And thilk men and women deden not so, ffor þey nold not leve hire nyse pride for no prechyng ne techyng ne counsell in shrift; for to atte last þan þey had shrift and no space of penaunce sufferyng and þerfor þei shullen suffre euermore without mercy þese paynes til þe dai of dome"/ And than seint Iohn ledde me forthe to another fier/ And þere y saw bras and lede and other diuers metals molten togedre, wherynne y saw many sowles of men and women, and fendes among hem with swerdes, knyves, and brochis brennyng, smyteng owt hire yen and fillyng þe holes of þe yen with þat brynnynge metall; summe makyng woundes with here swerdes and fillyng the woundes with þe same brennyng [metall; summe drayng of þe nayles of here fingers with brynnynge tonges of yren and setting hem on agen with þat metall molten; summe smytyng of here armes, puttyng hem on þe fire brochis and fillyng thilk places where armes were with molten metall al on fire; and þei [threw]¹ þe armes on þat other membris into the molton metall and when þei weren al on fire þei toke hem vp agen and set hem on hire places agen and þus þei dide continuliche/ And y herd þe armes as methowght verely crie and sai, "Ihesu crist, goddissonne of heven, rightwous iugge, we haue not seruid þis payne but only the hert and þe tonge"/ And þan þe fendes token owt þe hert and þe tounges and clevid hem on tweyne and fild hem ful of þat hote brynneng metall and put ham into þe bodi agen/ And than seint Iohn said, "þese ben þei þat sweren bi goddes membres, as bi his yen, bi his armes, bi his woundes, bi his nayles and other his membris; and thei þus dismembrid god in horrible swerynge bi his lymmes, þerfore þei be þus tumentid in hire membris and shul be duryng the willyng of god"/ And þan seint Iohn ledde me forthe into þe .iii. fire and þat fire was of grete stanche and hete for thereyn was cast fen and dirt as had ben of gonges and of oper maner of fylthe; and þere I sawe sowles of men [and women with fendis stoppeng hem ful of þat filthe; summe other takyng brondes of fire, stoppeng and

¹[*Ms. drow.*

shovyng þe felthe downe into here bodies as þe wold stoppe a wullepak ; and other fendes comyng *with* pottes ful of leme of þat fire yetyng it into them/ And þan seint Iohn said, "þo yender ben tho þat broken here halydaies ; ffor on þe haliday a cristen man shuld go to chirche and bid hertely his prayers and shryve him if he hadde nede, to him þat hathe power of his sowle, and foryeven all tho þat haue gilt him as he wold be foryeve of god ; but þese folk did not so for þei dispendid here halydai in gloteny and dronknesse in taverns and other places, takyng and fillyng hem self owte of mesure more þan hem nedid, so mykel þat summe of hem cast up agen ; and other diuers filthes and synnes thei vsid in þe holidais and þerfore þei shullen suffer þe yonder fillyng and stoppyng ful of filthe and stench *with* fendes during þe will of god"/ Thanne seint Iohn led me forthe to þe .iiii. fire/ And þere y saw many sowles bounden *with* brondes of fire *and* the fendes stondyng *and* stowpeng here erses toward þe sowles *and* shityng owt of here erses stench and fen *with* brondes of fire þat failed not but smote hem thorowe þe hedes *and* thorow al here lymmes of here bodi where ever þat hit cam. Tho seint Iohn said, "þese ben þoo þat dishonour here fader [*and* here moder *and* therefore þei shullen suffre here þis dishonour of fendes ersis duryng þe wil of god"/ Tho seint Iohn led me to þe .v. fire there y saw sowles *with* all maner of goodes brennyng on hire backes ; summe *with* the swerdes and knyves smytyng and stikeng hem self ; summe horses *and* oxen and oþer diuers bestes bityng hem *and* teryng hem asonder/ Than seint Iohn said to me, "þoo yonder ben thefes *and* robbers of trewe menis godes." And hem y saw take owt of þat payne þat þai were yn and cast to other *and* other sowles take owt of þilk payne þat þei were yn *and* sett by/ And þan he said, "þoo sowles þat þow seist take owt of yonder paynes and set by, ben þe sowles of þoo men þat þe yender thefes robbeden *and* stalen þere goodes from hem ; and as moche fawte as þoo true men suf-freden in lak of here goodes, so moche payn þei shullen suffre for hem, for thei made never satesfaction in will nothir in dede ; and therefore þei shullyn suffre þere yender payn duryng þe will of god/ And in þilk paynes y saw executours punysshid as long tyme as þei delayn and not fulfillyn þe dethis will, *and* þilk execu-tours þat tokyn þe dedis goodes to here owne vse for þe sowles of

F. 139 a.

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þe owners were passid owt of purgatorie; þe help of goodes þat were done afterward turned to þe help and reles of other þat had nede and þo þat withilden them were punysshid therfor with fendis in hudious paynes duryng the wil of god. Then [seint Iohn lad me forthe to þe VI fire/ and in þat fire y saw many sowles ypayned/ And summe fendes meltyng gold and siluer and yet it into them/ And y sawe oþer where wodes, rochis, hilles, and londes brennyng and fallyng vppon them/ Than seint Iohn said, "þoo yender be thoo þat bare false witnesse in diuers enquestes and assisis, sum for gold and summe for siluer and now þat gold and þat siluer molten paynes them as þou seist, and so of londes and wodes [it]¹ paynethem hem in iii maners: On is it shal bren hem; another it shal brose hem; þe iii it shal smolder hem and hold hem ever vnder"/ Tho y saw diuers sowles stondyng abowte þat fire but felyng no payn of it/ And seint Iohn said, "þo yender sowles ben of þo men þat haue suffred wrong bi thilk turmentid in þe fire/ And there þei shal se none other payn but se them turmentid and punysshid for here gilt as long tyme as þei shuld haue sufferd hem self; and þilk paynes þei shul suffre duryng þe will of god"/ Thanne seint Iohn lad me to þe VII. fire; theryn y saw many sowles ypayned with fendis teryng hem with brennyng crokes of brennyng yren, euerych lymme of þe bodi fro other and other fendes with speris, swerdis, and knyves, smytyng the hedes of the sowles and the other parties of þe body, hewyng on sonder, fallyng into þilk fiere, the fendis takyng hem vp brennyng ful of fiere and setting on the hedes agen, and þus þei did continueliche/ Than sayde seint Iohn, "þilk ben þe sleers and murdres of true men." And þere I herd a gresly crye sayng, "ihesu crist goddessone of heven, þow rightful iugge, we axen veniaunce on hem þe which kylden vs and distroyed vs and þei no cause had." Thanne seint Iohn said, "þo yender ben tho sowles þat were kilde and distroid; now þei axen veniaunce on thoo yonder mysdoers and in þe same maner þei þat killyn giltles men, þei shal be turment in þis fire duryng the will of god"/ Thanne seint Iohn browght me to þe VIII. fiere and þat fire was hote owt of mesure and blak as ony pyche and smale lemes as blew as ony brymston comyng owt þerof; and in þat fire y saw many sowles boþe of men and of women

¹ [Ms. and.

hongyng bi þe prevy membris *with* cheynes of brennyng yren,
 summe bi the hert, *and* summe bi þe yen, and fendes betyng vpon
 hem *with* hamours of brennyng yren/ Than seint Iohn said, "þo
 yendur ben þei þat leved here lif in lecherye; thei þat synned in
 dede ben hangid bi þe membris/ And thei þat synned in desire
 ben hanged bi the hert, for the hert was in [wil for to do þe
 dede; and thei þat wold not hold here yen stable but biholden
 faire women/ and also women of men and bi hire sight fillyn into
 more synne in dede, þerfor þei ben payned in here yen and shullyn
 suffre þat payne duryng the wil of god"/ Tho seint Iohn led me
 forthe to the .ix. fier and þere y saw many sowles of men *and*
 women *and* children in thilk hote fire and chyldren betyng here
 owne fader *and* moder *with* brondes of fire, þe fader saying, "my
 faire sone y gat the"/ Tho saing the moder, "my faire child, y
 bare and norshid the *with* my pappis;" and rehersid many kynd-
 nesse done by the fader *and* moder to here children/ Tho y herd
 þe children sayng to here fader, "wrecche, þow gast me;" and to
 here moder, "wrecche, þow barest me and we know well all the
 tendernesse þat ye haue done to vs; but for ye chastynde vs not
 and in defeaute of yowre chastement we muste suffre these bitter
 paynes; and for ye betid not vs for owre mysdedes, we shul bete
 yow *with* these fire brondes as goddis wil is"/ Thenne seint
 Iohn said, "Thilk yender ben þoo þat chasten nowght here chil-
 dren/ And þe yonder payn þei shal haue þerfore duryng the will
 of god"/ Thoo seint Iohn bad me loke above my hede and þere
 y saw a Roche hovyng over þe leme of al þe fires and payns þat y
 before had seen/ And þan he lad me vp above that roche and
 there y saw many sowles closid [*with* a wal of stone and þyulk
 sowles lay noselyng on the grownd and grouelyng/ And all the
 stench and þe smych of al the fires to foresaid, rysyng vp in here
 mouthes, noses, yen, and al here bodies; and on here backes y saw
 dragons, arders, and snakes, todes, cattes, Bitellis, and other fowle
 bestis, gnawyng on here backes and on al the lymmes on here
 bodies; and y saw many grisly devellis stompyng and tredyng on
 here backis for to encrease here paynes/ And þan seint Iohn said,
 "þe yender ben bachiters þat wolden never sece of saing evel of
 here negheours, puttyng hem owt of here good name into evel,
 never levyng it in youghe ne in age for prechyng ne for counceyng

Bakbiters.

in shrifte of hire goostly fader, for to it laste hem at what tyme was no space of penaunce; and therefore þei shullyn evermore endure in those paynes in to þe day of dome without mercy." Thanne seint Iohn lad me forthe a grett space fro þat other turmentes and there he shewed me twey towers, þat on ful of brynnung fire and þe other ful of yse and snowe; and in þat full of fire, y saw many sowles ypayned and made hote in poynte for to mylt and sodenly with fendes þei were cast owt of þat passyng hete in to þat other tower ful of yse and snowe, and fendes with shovellis castyng yse and snow vppon hem; and þat payned hem full sore. And thanne y saw many sowles with fire brondys brennyng in here hondes

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[hauyng here bodies ful of serpentes, snakes, todes, and diuers other horrible wormes, knockyng at þe yate of þe towre; and when þei were letyn yn thei cast the brondes of fire to thilk oþer sowles þat were cast yn paynes and beten him with þe same brondis and payned them wonderly sore, and al tho serpentes, todes, and other horrible wor[m]is¹ lopen from here bodies to pilk oþer þat were payned in þat cold and stongyn and beten hem wonderly sore// Thanne seint Iohn said vnto me, "These were bisshoppes and other diuers prelates of holy chirche þat shuld haue prechid and geve good ensampell of levyng to þe comyn people; for thei did not þus now thei be punysshid and payned with this fire and þis cold sodaynly duryng þe will of [God]²/ And these sowles with þese fire brondes þat paynethem they were here seruauantes lyveng in pride and oþer disgisyng of þe world/ and pilk serpentes, snakes, todes, and other wormes ben here iaggis and daggis þat þei vsidden; and now thei styngen and byten þese prelates for thei wold not correcte here meyne of here nyse aray"/ And þan y saw another fire and sowles brynnung theryn þat were a[s]³ gret as it were pipis or tonues al to swollyn/ And owt of here [fingers and owt of here toes come diuers wormes as adders, snakes, and todes, turnyng agen into þe same bodies, sowkyng hem vnto þe tyme þat here bodies were smalle agen; and þen eftesone styngyng agen for to þat þei were swollen agen, as þus þei did continulyche, and fendes blowyng the fire for to make þe serpentes to styng hem more besely. And þan y herd many diuers noyses, cryyng and sayng, "Ihesu crist, goddes-

F. 141 b.

religious.

¹[MS.: wordis. ²[MS. omission. ³[MS.: at.

sone of hevene, rightfull doumsman, awreke vs on þis people; for þei hadden þe goodes of holy chirche more þan them nedid and suffred vs to peressh for defaute"/ And þan seint Iohn said, "these were religious men, as monkous, chanons, *and* other, þat shuld haue lyved in continence and abstinence of here bodi; and for thei did not þus, now thei be payned *with* þis fire and þise wormald sowkyng and payneng hem in diuers maners. And þese sowles þat axe veniaunce on hem beth þe people þat myght haue be relevid bi the goodes þat þei spendid in wast"/ Thenne seint Iohn shewid to me diuers sowles payned in another fire and summe were closid *with* plates of yren brennyng al abowte, and on þe platis weren letters and wordes wel wreten and þorow þe wordes nayles of yren hote brynneng, smeten in to here bodies; and þan y saw fendes take owt þe tonnges and þe hertes of somme of þo sowles, shredyng hem smalle and castyng in here faces as it were brynnnyng fire/ And among thilk sowles, y saw on so punysshid of þe which seint Iohn said, "þilk is [thi eme, William, þat was person of suche a place." And I wist well þat he was dede. xvi. ¹ wynter to fore þat time. Thanne seint Iohn said, "þese ben þe sowles of *persones* and vicaries *and* prestis/ And þe letters þat þow seist was goddes service þat þei shuld haue said *with* deuocion; but for þei had more lust in pleyng and other flesshly *and* worldly lustes and myrthes than yn here service, therefore now þus thei be payned *with* þese brynnnyng nailes in there flessh/ And for thei were never well, as them thougth, but if þei myght be occupied in hakyng or huntynge or oþer diuers synnes and vaniteis, leuyng goddes service, holy prayers, and other goostly deuociouns, þat is longyng to goddis pristis, and yoven evel ensample to þe comen people bi hire lewid leuyng, and *with* hire tongis not occupied in devowght praieris and goddis service and behouefull to þe people, but hire hertes and hire tungis occupied in thougthtis and wordes of synne and vaniteis, therfore fendes payneth hem now, shredyng and cuttyng here tunges and hertes in hudious payn and wo to hem"//² And þan seint Iohn shewid to me a grete hous stronglich

¹[*Addit. MS., f. 122 b: xi* gere before þat tyme. ²[*This passage reads as follows in the Addit. MS., f. 122 b: And yf thay had seruyd god as thay schuld haue done by reson of þer charge þat thay toke, greet blysse in heuyn myght thay haue hade. Alas þat syche (f. 123 a) prestys schuld be callid goddys knyghtys þat feghtys euery day agayne þer lege lorde; and þerfore thay schalbe*

F. 142 b.

ywallid abowte and þat hous was al vp aboue,¹ and in þat hous was þe most stenche þat ever y feld; and þere y saw sowles al nakid, and þere among hem was passyng cold. And there y saw dyvers pressis ipiled wyth clothis and owt of [þat clothe come mothis and other diuers wormes and þe fendes toke þoo wormes stoppeng and puttyng them into þe moughthes and throtes of þo sowles. And there y saw many dowblettes ythrow of fendes vppon þo sowles, þe whiche dowblettes were not hote, but yet *with* them þei were gretely payned and punysshid; and þan I saw the fendes turnyng here arses toward þe sowles, shytyng vppon hem, the whiche dirt stonk so fowle þat it was a passyng payn; and in to þat hous come grete passyng haulstones owt of þe eyr, smytyng summe of þo sowles, summe on þe hedes, and summe on þe bodies, and al to-brosid hem// Then seint Iohn said, “þese ben þe sowles of men of holy chirche, as persones, vicaries, and other prestes þat shuld haue tawght good doctrine and good exemple haue yevyn to þe comen people; ffor þei did noght so, now thei be punysshid diuersliche in þe paynes þat thow seist; and þei suffren now this passyng cold to teche hem what þe pore and þe nakid people suffreden when thei myght haue refresshid hem. These wormes þat comyn owt of þese clothes were þo mothis þat engendred in here clothis þat þei might haue holpen *with* þe nedy people, and now þei shul not be fed *with* none other mete but *with* þe same wormes; and the

F. 143 a.

dowblettes þat þow seist draw on [thilk [sowles]² weren dowblettes that nyse prestes vsid in this world, as þei had ben secular men; for þer cam no frute of þe curates and pristes of teching and of good ensample yevyng to the comyn people, but stynkyng synne and vnklene levyng, therefore þei shullyn now suffre þe stenche and þe dirt of þese fendes duryng þe will of god/ And þilk sowles þat þow seist smyten and brusid *with* the grete hailstonis ben þe sowles of thilk persones and vicaries þat rayn, hail, and snow defowled here auters and here chauncelles bi hire mys-

callyde be ryght of ther false gouernance, the dewlys knyghtys and goddes traytores; and for syche ar they now pynyle and schalbe whylys goddys wyll is. And for þer herttys and þer tongys were occupyde in ydyll thoght and ydyll speche, þerfore thay suffyr now so howge payn; for when they wolde not purches them blys as thay myght haue done and þat full mykylle, god wyll þat thay haue now þer purchase and þat is mekyl care and sorow more then any tonge can tell. And Sant Jon schewid me a grett house, etc. ¹[*Addit. MS., f. 123 a:* all open aboun. ²[*Crossed out in the MS., but necessary for the sense.*

kepeng where goddis body shuld be sacred and dinine seruice said, spendyng þe goodes þat god sent hem to kepe with þat charge and many other, in synne and wrecchidnesse. And now all these sowles ben closid in þese high walles for as moch as thei closid hem self whiles thei leveden in þis world in hire owne houses, for þei wold not here þe crie of þe pore and the nedy people”// And þan seint Iohn led me forthe toward a water, the which was blak and fowle to sight; and yn thilk water were mony fendes, yellyng and makyng gresly noyse; and over þat water y saw a gret brygge and brode as me semed, and on þat brigge [I saw a bisshop goyng and with him mony clerkes and diuers officers and many other mayne; and when he had go a good while on þat brigge, y saw fendes with grete strenghe pulling and teryng adown the pilers of þe brigge, and the bisshop sodaynly fallyng into þe water and his meyne with him; and in the fallyng my thowght y saw a bright angell takyng away the myter and the cros fro þe bisshop and vaneshid away/ And than y saw many diuers sowles and fendes among hem takyng þilk bisshop, teryng, drawyng, and plunchyng him in þat blak water/ And he suffred þerynne many diuers turmentes and moche woo/ And þan seint Iohn said, “ this was a bisshop which leved not wel to the plesyng of god as his degre and his astate asked; and therefore he is now payned with this diuers paynes. þat brigge þat þow seist was a brigge þat he lete make in the world, whiles he was on lyve, for esement of þe comen people; but for as moche as he did it to be made principally for vaynglorie and also þe goodes þat it was made with weren falsliche goten, taken yerlyche bi his office, gold and siluer, maynteyneng þe synne of moche people in lecherie, therfore god hath suffred þese fendes to draw down this brigge; for if it had be made with godes trulych goten, it shuld haue ystoundyn him now in grette stede. And these sowles þat þow seist paynenge him [in these paynes ben þe sowles of thoو þat he suffred in þe world to liue in synne for loue and covetise of worldly lucor which he myght haue amendid, if he had don is deuer; and therefore it is þe wil of god þat he and his officers þat suffred hem in synne, be punysshid with hem in these paynes duryng the wil of god.”

ffinis reuelacionum penaliu.¹

¹ [The Addit. MS. is without this finis.

F. 144 b.

And when seint Iohn had shewid me al þese paynes and many mo þan y can or may tell or bithink, y said to him, "may ther be ony remedi or mytigacion to þese sowles þat be þus ypayned in these diuers paynes?"; and he said thus, "William, god forbede it els; for þow shalt vnderstond þat þese sowles may be holpen owt of þese paynes principalliche bi the mercy of god and bi þe good dedis þat here frendes and þe people levyng in þe world may do for hem; as to lernyd men, as bi masses singyng, saing of sawters, placebo and dirige; commendacions, . VII. salmes and the . XV. psalmes, with þe letenye; bi almes dede and bi pilgrimage; and also bi lewid men, with þe Paternoster, þe Aue Maria and þe Crede; almes dede, fastyng and pilgrimage; and bi many other good dedis; ffor right as thow seist if a man is [hond or his fote were put into a vessell ful of hote scaldyng water, yf a man put þerto a quantite of cold water, sumwhat the hete of the scaldyng water wold abate/ And so ofte he myght put þerto more cold water and more þat þe hete shuld not greve him. In the same wise so many prayers and good dedes may be do for þo sowles þat ben in payn of purgatorie þat þe goodnesse and bi the mercy of god and þe good dedis done for hem, þat þei myght be delyuierid owt of payn"// Then seint Iohn went with me a litill space and sone he vanysshid owt of my sight and thanne y was mochel adred when he was gone fro me, and forthe y zede bi the water side, the whiche water was greislyche and depe, and moche greisly noise y herd þerynne; and vnderstode þat þere shuld have ben a brigge over þat water as y had herd say in þe world/ And y saw none and was the more agast and adrede. Thanne y herd a more grisliche noyse of fendys comyng bihind me þan ever y herd bifore; and bi þat noyse my sprite and my wittes failidden me so þat y had no mynd on the passion of god ne of none other prayer; and þan þat blissid virgen, seint yve, cam bihinde me and saide, "thow madman, haue mynde in þi hert of the glorious passion of owre lord, ihesu crist, goddissonne of hevене, and mark the withe thi praier"/ And þan y said, "ihesu crist, goddissonne of heuene, for þi passion þat þow suffredist for me and al synful on erthe, haue mercy on my sinful bodi and [g]if¹ me grace so for to do þat is most plesaunt

¹[*Ms. if.*

to the and saluacion for my bodi and my sowle." And than y markid me with my praier/ And þan al þat noise þat y herd vaneshid away fro me and y went forthe bi the water side on my right honde/ And on þat other side of the water y saw nothyng but an highe roche; and so long y went on þat water side þat y saw an highe towour on the ferther side of þat water, and there y saw mo light þan y did on al þe way bifore. On þe top of þe towre y saw a fayre woman stondyng, and [she]¹ lokid to me; and þan y was right gladde and knelid down on my kneis and with as good hert and deuocion as y had, said . v . pater in þe worship of owre lordis . v . woundes, and . v . aues in þe worship of owre ladi is . v . ioyes, and marked me with my praier. Or y rose I lokid to þe towour and saw a ladder fro þe top of þe towour reching vnto the grownd where y knelid; and [for gladnesse I rose vp and went to the ladder. And hit was so litill as me thowght þat it wold onnethe bere onything; and þe first rong of the ladder was so [hye]² þat onnethe might my fynger reche therto; and þat rong was sharper þan ony rasor, as me thowt, and a none y drow my hond therfro/ And þan I herd a grisly noyse comyng fast toward me, and y markid me with my praier and al þat noyse vanyshid away; and þan y lokid to þat ladder and þere y saw a corde comyng fro þe top of the towre to þe fote of þe ladder. And þat woman bad me knitte þat corde a bowte my myddell; and so y did, an yede to þat ladder aȝen and reghit my hond to þat rong; and þo y feld þe rong of no sharpnesse and bi þe help of þat woman and of myne owne grypyng, y steied vppon þat ladder and þo y herd a thowsand more noyse, grisly and hidowus in þe water vnder me, and in þat lond þat y com fro, þan y herd ony tyme bifore. Þan bi þe help of owre lord ihesu crist and his merci and þat woman, þat was aboue þat towour, y was sone broughte to þe top of þat towour, where y was passid al maner of drede. And þo y fel on kneis and elbowis to fore þat faire woman and said, "ihesu crist, goddessone of heven, mot quite yow and worship yow for yowre grete and gracious help and for yowre corde." And þan þat faire woman said, "the yender cord is thilk corde þat þou [yavest to the chapman þat was robbid wiht iwes³ when he cam where yow were asking almes

¹[*Ms. omission.* ²[*Addit. MS., f. 124 b:* And þe fyrst style was so hye, etc.

³[*Addit. MS., f. 124 b:* when he was robberye of thevys.

for the loue of god." And þan þe woman went evyn fro þe towre and y folowid/ And þere we cam into a faire contree and al the erthe of þat contree was clere as cristal ston; and no gras growyng in þat contree but there growid many treis, and þe fairest þat ever y saw with myne yen, and swetter of sauour þan al þe spicers shoppes [of all þe warlde];¹ and many wonderfull breddes on the treis, singeng on hire singyng mony dilectable songus, and suete notes makyng and singyng/ In þat contre me thowght wonder meri and fayn y wold haue biden þeryn and wonder fast y zede in þat contree forthe. Þe ferther þat y zede and sowght, the better me likid. And þere cam agenst me a faire company of monkis, channons, and pristes, clothid al in white, and welcomed me wel tenderlich as powgh y had be here owne brother, of oon fader and of oon moder; and ofte þei lowtid and thonkid god hertly þat y was passid al thilk peroles and gresly sightes þat y had bi fore sein, herd, and be yn; and þat ever y did ony good dede in this world, þei thonkid me therfore, yn so moche þat for a candell þat y set sumtyme in a chirche bifore an ymage, not for þe ymage but in worship of þat seint þat þe ymage bitokened, y was thonkid perfore; and y stode, talkyng with hem, ther come a bisshop revershid with a cros [in his hond, and on that cros an ymage of owre lord, ihesu crist, as he suffred paine on the rode; and þe bisshop was bare fote, and so were al tho þat were there. And whan þe bisshop cam neighe, thei fellen al on kneis and askid his blessing, and he yaf it þem with good wille. And y in a side bi my self set on my kneis, askid þe bisshop his blessing as þat oper compeny did, and he with his hond blissid me. Thanne said þe bisshop, "loved an[d] heried be god, William, þat þow art welcome heder þat hast passid a perilous place. Worship be owre lorde ihesu crist, goddessone of heven." And the bisshop said to me many wordes, and among other he said, "Alas, alas, William, Alas, for mekill people in the world synneth in trust of goddis mercy and þat bigileth many man and woman." And these ruful wordes rehersid a bowte a . xii . times; "Alas," he said, "whi nel not þe people in þe world take hede to þe grete goodnesse þat owre

F. 146 b.

Nota.

¹ [MS.: Shoppes þat ever—; *Addit. MS.*, f. 124b: then all þe spyssers schoppys of all þe worlde.

lord, ihesu crist, hath do for hem, þat þei wold for his love and his kindnesse þat he hath shewid to them, lefe here synnes and hire wikkidnesse or here synnes lefe hem, with ynward sorow of hert shryveng hem clene of here synnes to them þat power haue; and shew how ofte and þe tyme and the place [and the degre of the person þat þei have synned with, and hire onkindnesse and turnyng agen to synne; and wilfulli and mekely take penaunce and fulfil it, *and* thanne continue in good levyng; and than þei shul nat be punysshid in þe orible paynes þat þow sawest, but thei shul haue grete thonke of owre lord ihesu crist, ffor þei for his loue forsakyn and withstoden here synnes, suffreng þe burdon of many temptacions; and seintes in heuen shull be ioifull and worship hem therefore"/ And whan þis bisshop had talkid *with* me a good while he said, "William, þow passe agen into þy contree, and be þow a good man in thi leuyng and þan þow shalt come heder to vs; and if þow turnest to thi synne agen, thow shalt come to thilk paynes which þow now hast ascaped." And þan y said, "holy fader, if it be plesing to owre lord, ihesu crist, I beseeche yow for his loue þat y myght a while rest me in þis contree, for here to be me thinkithe ful mery." And þan þe bisship said to me, "let be, William; þow maist not abide here as now, but be a good man and þow shalt come heder/ And y counsaill the þat þow aske no thing þat is displeyng to goddes will, for y say the it is synne to covete it. But thow shalt wend agen in the blissyng of god and myne; but yet er thow goo, [thow shalt se examinacion of a prioressse of a nunnery, for hir sowle is comen hether now to here iugement"/ And tho the Bisshop and þe company went forthe and y folowid after for to þat y come to þat place on an high hill where þat sowle abode. And there were wonder many fendes abowte þat sowle/ And anon on of the monkis þat come withe the bisshop opend a boke of þe nonnes rule and law¹ after which she shuld haue levid, and of euery poynt bi him self askid how she hadde rulid hir and as wel of hire sustern, the which she shuld haue gouerend also as hir self/ And certayn she had litil defens for hir self; for there þe fendis accusid hir a[n]d said þat she come to religion for pompe and pride, and for to haue habun-

¹ [*Addit. MS., f. 125 a:* And then on of þe monkys that cam *with* þe byschoppe opynde a boke of all evyll dedes þat sche hade done, etc.

Nota.

F. 147 a.

F. 147 b.

daunce of the worldes riches, and for ese of hir bodi and not for deuocion, mekenesse, and lownesse, as religious men and women owght to do; and þo the fendes said, "it is wel knownen to god and to al his angels of heven and to men dwellyng in that contree where she dwellid ynne, and all the fendes of hell, þat she was more costluer in puler weryng,¹ as of girdelles of siluer and overgilt, and ringes on hir fingers, and siluer² bokeles and overgilt on hir shone, esy lieng in nyghtes, as it were or an emprise in the world, not daynyng hir for to arise to goddis servis; and with all dilicate metes and drinkes she was fedde." And þan yn certayn that nonne in gret [wepyng said, "it is wel knownen to owre lord, ihesu criste, goddissonne of heuen, þat y scrift and ful repentaunce of al my misdedis done bifore þat tyme; and in ful purpos was to leve my synne and nice vaniteis and pride, and for to haue take me only to goddis seruice; ffor y know me gilty in gouernaunce and therefore y forsake his rightful iugement and take me holy to his grete mercy" / And þan þe bisshop enioyned hir to payne enduryng evermore til þe day of dome for þat she wol not forsake ne leve hir pride and evel gouernaunce for to it forsake hir, and þan sho had no space of penaunce doying / And þan þe bisshop lokid to me, and so dud al his company, and þei saiden ful tenderly wepyng,³ "Alas, þat worldly men will not take hede in here hertes, how moche kindnesse and mercy god shewethe to hem, and do kindenesse agen kindenesse; but thei do not so, for þei be evir rebell agenst þe wil of god, doying pride and al other synne; and therefore þe shul haue ful mychell woo, payn, and tribulacion, but þei amend hem" / Than þe bisshop said to me, "William, passe thow home in þe blissying of god and myne, and say as þow hast

¹ [Addit. MS., f. 125 b: hytt is well knowne . . . þat sche Agayne hyr ordyr was of mys governance in werynge of pelleure and gyrdylls of syluer and golde rynges on hyr fyngers and syluer bokylls on hyr schone. ² [MS.: siluers. ³ [The Addit. MS. breaks off with this speech unfinished; the speeches of the Addit. MS. are generally much freer than the descriptive or narrative parts. The closing passage is as follows, f. 125 b: Alas, alas, þat wordely men wyl not take hede with all ther myght, How mekyll kyndenes and mercy owre lorde, Jhesu criste, hase schewyde vnto all vnkynde wrechys in erthe, That euery day feghtys agayn hym and agayn hys cummandementys, And synnys in þe vii dedely synnys and in þer v wyttys, Weche unkynde saulys be callyde vnwyttys, for ther wyttys turnys them to foly. For god ordende them to gett them hevyn with them And thay purchases them helle. For þer—

F.148 b.

herd and seen to them þat þis bilongithe to/ And lyve rightfully
and þow shalt come to ever lestyng ioi; and drede þe noght of thi
way as thow passist home warde for thow shalt [see none evil
sprites that shul disese the; thow shalt not faile of thi way;”
and with that y toke my leve. Anone y was at the dore where y
went first ynnē. Wherefore al cristen men þat heryn or redyn this,
I beseche yow for the loue of god þat ye haue me in yowre praier,
And ye shul be yn myne.

Explicit.

LIFE.

I was born September 1, 1872, at Cincinnati, Ohio. I was prepared for college at Wittenberg Academy in Springfield; and in 1890 was admitted as Freshman to Wittenberg College. After the regular course of four years, I was graduated from that college with the degree A. B.

In October of the same year I entered the Johns Hopkins University. I remained in residence at the University for three consecutive years, following courses in English, French, and German. In my third year I was appointed Scholar in the English department. The same year I accepted an appointment as instructor in English in Teachers College, New York City.

I take this opportunity to fulfil the pleasant duty of thanking my various instructors for the constant and willing help they have generously afforded me; I am indebted also to Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum for many courtesies. To Professor Bright I wish to acknowledge deeper obligations; he above all has helped me in the realization of the high purpose and aim of all scholarly scientific effort.

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